

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE minority in both the Senate and House have been complimented highly and deservedly upon the able and even brilliant resistance they have made to the inflationists. It is quite true that the principles of sound finance have never been more powerfully and lucidly expounded, or the fallacies of the paper-money champions more keenly exposed than in the debates of the last three months. No matter what comes of the madness of the majority, the honor and common-sense of the country have had worthy defenders in such men as Messrs. Schurz, Sherman, and Thurman in the Senate, and Hoar, Dawes, Garfield, Phelps, Cox, Hawley, and Townsend in the House, so that we shall not be wholly put to shame. We ought not to omit to mention either the happy début in the Senate of Mr. Jones of Nevada, who entered the other day without any other reputation than that of great wealth, but showed in the currency debate that he had a very clear head and a very keen and ready tongue. To the surprise of everybody, he fell foul of the wretched Morton, and gave that statesman about the twentieth severe mauling he has received since the present discussion began. In none of the debates, however, did the inflationists make even a show of resistance. To history, to logic, to argument and invective, they opposed simply a silent brute vote, like so many Ashantees. The man who has won most laurels in the fray is Mr. Schurz, whose oratory has been worthy of the best days of parliamentary history.

The rumors of Mr. Richardson's resignation have been floating about in great strength during the week. Even the *New York Times*, which used to treat them as wicked calumnies, has at last been forced to join in circulating and giving them credence, but Mr. Richardson himself declares there is not a word of truth in them; and it is said, apparently with authority, that General Grant has no intention of dismissing him, and does not see why he should do so. Still, the Sanborn affair seems a little too heavy a burden for even extraordinary complacency to support, and we may have a change in the aspect of affairs any day. The failure of Mr. Richardson to resign, it ought to be said, and the President's failure to see why he should resign, are legitimate and natural features of the situation. Nobody who has conducted the Treasury as Mr. Richardson has conducted it, and nobody who has deliberately put such people in charge of it as he and Mr. Boutwell are, can be expected to see the necessity of his resignation. A man needs a certain amount of capacity and perspicacity to perceive that he has failed in any enterprise, and that he ought to retire, but neither Mr. Richardson nor the President has reached this degree of proficiency. The refusal to resign is, in short, of a piece with the silver resumption and the Sanborn contracts and the issue of the \$44,000,000, and is due to the same mental and moral defects.

Public attention has not been much attracted during the week by anything that the Senate has done. On the 8th, Mr. Carpenter gave notice of his intention to bring up again his bill ordering a new election in Louisiana, and on Monday last he did so. Mr. Sherman propounded the doctrine that the people of Louisiana now evidently acquiesced in the rule of the Kellogg government. He hoped that nothing would be done to disturb the existing peace and quiet. Mr. Saulsbury wished to know how many hours Mr. Sherman thought it would be before McEnery and Penn were in power if once the Federal troops were taken from under the Kellogg fabric. Mr. Carpenter would go so far as to agree with Mr. Sherman, that if the majority of senators were determined to support the

present usurpation, "it might be bad policy" to reopen the discussion. Whatever may be his opinion as regards the existence of this determination, Mr. Carpenter has decided that the question ought to be reopened: he could think of no question more important than this one.

The House has been very busy during the week, and got itself very heated with discussions of what is known as the Maynard currency bill. For this it was proposed to substitute the Senate bill just passed, and that probably might have been at once done but for the incurable disposition of General Butler, the leader of the inflationists, to neutralize his successes by an impudent display of folly and want of balance. He appears to be without real judgment, and to have in the midst of his most cunning hours some moments of zanyism. He lost control of his bill by indiscreetly getting himself involved in a difficulty with the House itself. He as good as told it that he knew that President Grant had no intention of vetoing the measure as it passed the Senate; this was at once resented; and the upshot of it was that by-and-by Mr. Maynard got his currency bill back into his hands again and the Senate bill lay over. Yesterday week the interminable discussion was renewed in a speech by Mr. Coburn of Indiana—the home of the financier and the most ignorant of the Western States. Mr. Coburn said the charge that the West needs more "capital" not more currency was false; she had "capital," as the census returns showed, and plenty of it, and was no more poverty-stricken than the East, but she needed banks. Mr. Coburn was followed by Mr. Townsend, who surprised the House by using a sort of chart as an aid to the enlightenment of his fellow-members. It showed by rising and falling lines the close connection between the heights of inflation and the depths of the subsequent abysses of panic. Mr. Townsend is from Pennsylvania, sixteen of whose twenty-nine representatives in Senate and House are for plenty more paper-money. Cameron and Kelley lead these. We may remark here that we see it stated that some of these repudiating votes are to be balanced by Western votes for aid to the "International Centennial" when that object of relief reappears once more, dish in hand.

On Tuesday the House—apparently to gratify Mr. Maynard—got that gentleman's currency bill out of the way by passing it, and then immediately took up and passed the Senate's bill, Mr. Maynard still being the man at the wheel, though Mr. Butler was permitted to converse with him while on post. The Maynard bill now has to undergo the ordeal of the Senate, and will hardly be heard of again, we suppose, and the Senate's bill awaits Executive action. On the general question good speeches have been made by Mr. E. R. Hoar, Mr. Randall, Mr. Garfield, Mr. E. H. Roberts, Mr. Tremain, and others. Mr. Conger of Michigan took his stand by Mr. Coburn of Indiana. Mr. Hawley of Connecticut, said Mr. Conger, declared only the other day that he personally would never cast a vote for any candidate who was not a hard-money man, and what was Connecticut's reply? She at once voted adversely to Mr. Hawley's senatorial chances. Her vote meant "more money for the people"; even the Granite State had thrown off the leaders who had forgotten the grand mission of the party—to elevate the lowly and befriend the poor man. A week ago to-day the Ways and Means Committee reported an anti-moiety bill. It repeals all acts relating to moietyies paid to informers, gives the informer half the value of goods which he seizes at the moment when they are being smuggled, gives a reasonable sum (never to exceed ten thousand dollars) to persons who may furnish officials with original information relative to frauds upon the revenue; orders the Secretary of the Treasury to make annual returns of the specific amounts thus paid, and otherwise simplifies the law without touching in the least the root of the difficulty.

Some consternation has been caused among the inflationists by the discovery, which is due to Mr. Knox the Comptroller, that the Senate bill, by requiring three-fourths of the bank reserves to be kept at home, will cause immediate contraction, equal, or nearly equal, to the amount of new circulation authorized. These men literally do not know what they are doing, and remind one of a parcel of savages playing tricks with a steam-engine or a watch. But the spectacle is a sad one for the country.

In the Sanborn case, the events of the week have been the production of Sanborn's accounts, and the testimony of Kelsey, formerly member of Congress from New York, who got the law passed. Soon after his retirement from the Forty-first Congress, his attention was called, he does not say by whom, to the large amount due the Government for taxes by railroad and other corporations, and on stocks, bonds, gross receipts, and so on. Mr. Kelsey accordingly drew up an act, and, with the assistance of Mr. Sawyer, who was then on the Senate Appropriations Committee and afterwards on the Conference Committee, got it passed. Before the passage of this act, Mr. Kelsey had had at least one conversation with Boutwell and Richardson on the subject, and at this conversation Sawyer was present. Afterwards, Kelsey being referred to Solicitor Banfield's office, he again found Sawyer. This testimony of Kelsey's effectually disposes of the attempt on the part of Richardson, Banfield, and particularly Sawyer, to make the Committee believe that they knew nothing about the history of the Sanborn contracts. As soon as the law was passed, Kelsey applied for a contract, and got one; but the strangest part of the whole thing is that, while Sanborn, who had nothing to do with the passage of the law, collected nearly half a million under it and made a nice little fortune for himself, Kelsey, the real author of the law, was never able to collect anything; and the explanation of it is a simple one—that while the innocent Banfield, Sawyer, and Richardson gave such orders to the revenue officers as impressed on their minds that they were to do whatever Sanborn wished, the orders given to Kelsey were nothing more than a letter of introduction; so that, while Sanborn was able to put away his profits, collected by means of illegal orders issued with the connivance of every one in the Treasury, Kelsey threw up his contract in disgust.

Sanborn's accounts do not throw a very brilliant light on the subject to which they relate. Indeed, since the *Crédit Mobilier* exposure, we do not remember to have seen such accounts anywhere. Their chief peculiarity is that those expenditures of Sanborn's that we know all about seem to have been very small; but whenever he paid money to unknown men for undescribed services, he paid with a lavish hand. Of the \$213,518 24 which was Sanborn's share of the amount collected under his contracts, he paid Mr. C. Waddell, who has been described in the evidence as an extremely accomplished amateur detective, who had accumulated an amazing amount of valuable information on the subject of delinquent taxes, only \$2,878 36, while he paid W. G. Morrison "and two assistants in London, Paris, Berlin, Frankfort, Lyons," etc., \$43,875. This enormous sum, he says, has brought him in no returns whatever, for it was paid out for the purpose of gathering information as to taxes due from "Americans residing abroad." This class of citizens has often been referred to as being nefariously negligent in the performance of their political duties, in absenting themselves for purposes of pleasure from the polls and from ward-meetings, but we never heard before that they added to their other crimes that of not paying their income-tax. There has been no income-tax either for some three years, yet Mr. Sanborn swears that if it had not been for this unfortunate investigation he would have gained \$10,000,000—five for the Government, and five for himself—out of these scoundrels by the payment of the insignificant sum of \$43,875. F. A. Prescott, a Boston lawyer, was paid \$28,000 for "legal services, expenses, and disbursements." The *Springfield Republican* says that this man is one of Butler's benchmen, and formerly his

private secretary. One of the items in the account is "Salary of Secretary" from August, 1872, to April, 1874, \$4,000. This secretary, it seems, was one Stiner, an ex-assistant assessor, reporter of "Custom-house items" for the *Herald*; but the money was not sent to Mr. Stiner; it was sent to Mr. Puffer at the Custom-house. And who was Mr. Puffer? Mr. Puffer was of course an old staff-officer of General Butler. The service for which the money was paid was keeping Mr. Sanborn's books—though what books, they were is not stated. Mr. Sanborn's "confidential man" in New York is A. G. Fay, said to be "nephew of General Butler's right-hand man in Boston," and he was sent, it seems, to Europe as Special Treasury Agent, Sanborn having some interest in moieties. On Sanborn's Brooklyn bail-bond appears the name of B. F. Butler. There is, however, nothing whatever in the evidence showing any connection on Butler's part with the contracts.

It is no secret that the *New York Times* has proved very unsatisfactory to the "managers" at Washington as an "organ," and that Mr. Conkling has been looking about for some time for the means of supplying its place. It is not generally known, however, that the *Tribune* has been thought of for this purpose, and that it was supposed that it would succumb under its new building before long, and the purchase of a controlling interest in the stock be thus made easy. We are of course now talking of plans two or three months old. The turn which the financial discussion has taken has of course given managers other things to think of, and has made "organs" seem vanities. These schemes derived a certain degree of support from the offer of *Tribune* stock in the market at comparatively low rates, and have caused enough talk to elicit from that paper an explanation, in which it says that it started its building with \$200,000 cash, and that the remainder of the cost will be provided out of its profits, we presume with the aid of a mortgage, and that, in pursuance of this arrangement, no dividends will be paid on its stock for five years to come, and warns people against purchasing shares as a means of subsistence. This effectually cuts off one solution of the "organ" problem. The *Tribune* has introduced one great improvement into American journalism, in refraining from controversy with other newspapers. It might introduce another nearly if not quite as great, by refraining from self-laudation. We think if it will leave its labors to the appreciation of the public without one word of note or comment, it will find the commercial result fully as valuable as that achieved under the old system, and the gain in moral tone and dignity very great. In this, as in other matters, why not "trust the people," as the politicians say? The public knows a good thing when it sees it; and it must be admitted that, considering the position journalists now seek to occupy towards the public, self-praise is, to say the least, very unbecoming. The *Tribune* is gradually attracting to itself the interest and attention of a great deal that is best in the various fields of American thought and activity in a way of which the old Greeleyite *Tribune* knew nothing, and will doubtless continue to do so. We may add that we trust the project of a "lofty tower" in the new building has been abandoned. The tower cannot serve any useful purpose, and will prove a veritable fountain of bitterness in Printing-House Square. Architecture which rouses bad passions in the breasts of one's neighbors has no great artistic value, for good art is essentially moral.

There has been some excitement during the week over the indulgence granted to Tweed by one of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, in allowing him to have a separate room with "cottage furniture" in the hospital ward, where his chances of escape were unusually good, and in which he frequently enjoyed the society of his son and his "private secretary." The Commissioner on whose responsibility these privileges were allowed has put in a defence, which seems good enough, though garnished with some amusing rhetoric. It is in substance that Tweed's enormous size, combined with his tolerably advanced age and long-established luxurious habits, would render his confinement in an ordinary cell dangerous

to his life; that on this ground alone the indulgence which has been extended to him would be extended to any convict; that his room was small and the furniture as simple as possible; and that he had to perform all the duties of a hospital orderly and did perform them faithfully, and that there was no danger of his escaping. To make assurance doubly sure, however, additional gates, bars, and bolts are to be put into the building. We believe Tweed does not regard himself as a "convict," but as a "statesman" awaiting in confinement the decision of the court of last resort—a position, in short, somewhat like that of Prince Polignac and the other ministers of Charles X. before trial. The visits of the "private secretary" probably aid him in keeping up this illusion. His use of the term "statesman," however, is no great departure from the sense which it now begins to bear in popular parlance. It is fast becoming a slang term applied to a politician who has stolen or embezzled or connived at the embezzlement of the public money.

There is little that is new in English politics, the ministry being mainly occupied in getting hold of the reins. But nothing can be more rose-colored than the financial situation as the retiring Cabinet have left it. The Groton economists will be astonished by the result of a constantly adverse "balance of trade" when they learn that last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer relinquished \$15,000,000 (reckoning the pound sterling roughly at five dollars) of taxation, estimating the receipts of the present year at \$377,500,000, whereas they have reached \$385,000,000; that not only will the income pay the ordinary expenses of the Government, but the *Alabama* indemnity and the expenses of the Ashantee war, and leave a small surplus for the Sinking Fund. The surplus next year will be, it is estimated, about \$17,000,000, "the balance of trade" still being all wrong, and there is a great fight going on for the use of this in reducing taxation. The sugar-men ask for \$9,000,000 of the amount, and the brewers ask for the remainder, on the ground that if their license duties were taken off they could supply beer of a better quality; but they are hardly likely to be listened to. It may be readily imagined that this is a pleasant state of things for the Tories, who are also revelling in the consciousness that what the country demands of them is to let things alone. Their banking after votes, however, is likely to tend to a characteristic performance with regard to female suffrage. The enfranchisement of women under the existing law would bring in a large reinforcement to the Conservative ranks, as the new voters would be all widows or spinsters living on annuities or carrying on small retail trades in boroughs, and furiously Tory in all their notions. What the effect upon English public life the voting of *all* women would have, Disraeli is not the man to concern himself about, his habit being to take short views of politics; but he is not quite ready to bear the whole responsibility of introducing even a modified form of female suffrage; so the plan, we understand, is to allow an independent member to bring in the bill, and then give the rank-and-file secret permission to support it. The member charged with this duty is Mr. Forsyth, who has been principally distinguished hitherto as the champion of the liquor-dealers, or "licensed victuallers" as they are euphemistically called in England, and he has accordingly introduced a bill, called a "Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women," and it is not at all unlikely that it will pass the House of Commons at least.

The leading topic of political discussion in France is the exact nature of the Septennat—that is, is it irrevocable for seven years, or is it liable to abolition at any moment by the establishment of a permanent form of government by the Assembly? The Legitimists and Bonapartists naturally cling to the latter theory. They hold that Marshal MacMahon's government is merely an interregnum, which is intended to last seven years, if nothing better is provided sooner. The Republicans, on the other hand, maintain that it is irrevocable, as they feel that time tells in their favor and against the Monarchists; moreover, the present régime, if not an ideal republic, is more of a republic than anything else, and prepares the

way for one. The business men, too, take the same view. What they seek is to be sure of some settled government for even seven years, and do not particularly care what it is called. They would, therefore, like to have the Marshal announce openly that he considers himself possessor of the Government for seven years, and that he will not relinquish it before the expiration of that period to any one, which, however, the Monarchists say would be equivalent to a *coup d'état*. The Marshal, in the meantime, is somewhat guarded in his language. In a letter to the Duc de Broglie, and in a speech delivered before the Tribunal of Commerce, he simply says "that the Assembly had entrusted power to him for seven years; that his first duty was to look to the execution of this sovereign decision; and that, during the seven years, he would make the order of things legally established respected by all." He does not say, it will be observed, that he would disobey the Assembly if it revoked its decision.

There is no decisive news from Spain. What there is seems to confirm the report of Serrano's failure, which is due to want of troops as much as anything else. With all his efforts, and with a general conscription, and absolute power in his hands, and backed by a certain languid hostility to Don Carlos on the part of the bulk of the Spanish people, it seems impossible for the Dictator to muster more than 30,000 indifferent troops, who attack feebly and are apparently repulsed without much difficulty. Bilbao played an important part in the former Carlist war, Espartero then making an attempt to relieve it similar to that in which Serrano is now engaged. He was, however, twice repulsed, and only succeeded at last with the assistance of the British fleet, which came up the river, and assailed the flank of the Carlist position. If the Carlists had succeeded in obtaining possession of the place at that period, it was supposed that it would have secured them the recognition of some of the Northern powers, and the same belief is said to be current in their ranks now. It is a large town, and the capital of the province of Navarre, and would therefore furnish them with respectable headquarters, and a footing on the soil. But there is not much reason to suppose that it would enable them to advance to Madrid. There is talk of Serrano's calling a convention in order to help him out of his difficulties, but if he did the Intransigente element would probably be uppermost in it, and some devilry would be set on foot that would plunge the country again in anarchy. In the meantime, the state of the finances is simply frightful—the revenue being, owing to the condition of the country, only partially collectable, and the deficit growing heavier and heavier. De Tocqueville said something about Spain in 1856 of which the history of the intervening years has certainly not lessened the force—that "no matter what happened, he was convinced that she would never give the true friends of freedom any cause for rejoicing; that the country seemed made to disgust people with liberty."

The Prussian Parliament and the Government are at loggerheads again, as before 1866, over an army bill, and though there is a fair prospect of an amicable agreement, it cannot be reached in the absence of Prince Bismarck, who is laid up with a severe attack of sciatica—the Liberals not being willing to trust to anybody else's assurances. The Government is sufficiently alarmed about the future, owing to the condition of France and the course of the Ultramontane malcontents, to be desirous of increasing the army, and putting it on a permanent basis independent of parliamentary control for a fixed period. The force since the late war has not exceeded 360,000 men; the Government now proposes to raise it to 401,000 as a maximum, but offers as a compromise 385,000 as a probable minimum. This would increase the cost about \$17,500,000, or one-fifth, and the Government would like to have the whole army appropriation voted by the next Parliament, once for all, so as to make it independent, as regards this item, of all future legislation; but there is no likelihood that the Parliament will submit to anything so preposterous or concede any longer term than six years.

THE NEW POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY.

THE small impression made on the inflationists by the arguments with which they have been assailed, both by the minority in Congress and by the press, and indeed the silence with which these arguments have been received, have excited a good deal of surprise all over the country, and have seemed at times almost incapable of explanation. Almost the only replies they have made to the volleys of logic, illustration, and ridicule which have been poured on them during the last ten weary weeks, have been calls for a vote. They have listened to elaborate expositions of the fallacy of all theories of irredeemable paper-money, to demonstrations drawn from all history of the ruin paper-money is sure to work, to eloquent pictures of the shame and disaster which their schemes would bring on this great nation, to solemn reminders of the pledges they had made to the world that, come what might, the credit of this Government should be sustained by all the precautions known to the economy of civilized communities—with stolid indifference or contempt. It was not easy to discover at first what this meant, because they were not until lately sufficiently sure of their game to be very open in their confessions; their recent successes, however, both in the Senate and House, have apparently rendered caution no longer necessary, and the latest accounts from the best-informed observers in Washington assure us that what is in the mind of the managers of the inflationist Ring is really repudiation—total repudiation of all Government liabilities arising out of the war. The greenbacks will be got rid of by the issue of indefinite quantities, and the bonds by payment in the greenbacks thus issued. This, it must be remembered, is no new scheme. It was openly broached in 1870 by the two inflationist leaders—Morton of the Senate, and Butler of the House. They laid it aside then because they found that the public was not prepared for it, but they did not abandon it. They have apparently only been waiting for a favorable opportunity to revive it, and this appears now to be furnished by the panic, and by the great influx of carpet-baggers and other adventurers into the House and Senate from the Southern States—men who have everything to gain by prolonged disorder. In the meantime, too, the sober and honorable portion of the community, both at the North and West, have been unconsciously playing into their hands or preparing the way for them (1) by acquiescence in the Treasury policy of setting aside the currency problem as of small importance; (2) by connivance at violations of the law by both the present and the late Secretary; (3) by submission to the unprecedented usurpation of power to issue paper-money by a single Cabinet officer, in time of peace too, which first suggested and now seems to justify the exercise of a similar power by the majority in Congress; and (4) by timid persistence in treating the Republican party as a final political organization or church, through the instrumentality of which all political problems had hereafter to be solved, in spite of the fact that the questions which had called it into existence were irrevocably settled.

There is no denying that the situation is a very grave one, but it is on the whole a great deal more favorable and hopeful than any which a year ago we had reason to expect. This assault on the public credit is, in our minds, a far more insidious and dangerous attempt to break down free government on this continent than that made by the slaveholders, because, as we have once or twice tried to show, it is part and parcel of, or rather the final step in, a system of corruption which it was difficult to combat because difficult to catch sight of. The slaveholders ranged themselves in battle array, drums beating and colors flying, proud of their numbers and of their cause; and their destruction was simply a problem of military science. The "corruptionists," on the other hand, are careful not to parade themselves as a separate organization, and have hitherto been found in greater numbers in the camp of the reformers than anywhere else. Their stealing and cheating are largely done Bible in hand, and with as much psalm-singing as is sufficient to drown the noise of the crowbar and the jimmy. They are indeed frequently occupied with some philanthropic work, such as the care of the poor or the elevation of

the black man, or the rescue of the victims of intemperance. There was no use in challenging them to meet you at the polls. Everybody was conscious of their presence and activity. On every side was to be seen the result of their nefarious toil. But it took months of laborious investigation to catch even one of them, and the great majority had nothing worse to fear than vague "newspaper clamor." If one was brought to justice, the only result was that the others became more cautious in their operations, and it has seemed at times during the past five years as if, like the white ants in some climates, they would have eaten the heart out of our political fabric and it would be in ruins about our ears before we knew what they were doing. The only resource which seemed left to reformers was opposition to suspected individuals when put in nomination by the regular party organization, but this, as has been frequently proved in practice, was a very uncertain reliance, and did not promise reform much before the millennium.

Under these circumstances, the consolidation of the forces of corruption and dishonesty into a political organization for an assault on the public credit—and to this complexion it seems to have come at last—must be a subject of hearty congratulation to all friends of good government. We now know who they are, and where to find them. The doctrines about the nature of the nation's obligation to its creditors, and about the nature and functions of money, are not the theories of mistaken social philosophers. There are not ten men among the inflationists who are entitled to the honor or allowances of deluded fanatics. They are a band of adventurers, jobbers, cheats, and demagogues—some in search of a livelihood without monotonous toil; others, of additions to accumulations already large, and dishonestly acquired. Some are simply dazzled by the chances which future confusion offers to the needy and unscrupulous; and others are malcontents from the South, to whom the humiliation of their conquerors would be a sweet morsel, and the repudiation of the debt created by the war a happy deliverance from a grievous burden. No better opportunity could be wished for than is now offered for trying the question whether the honesty and intelligence of the United States, or its ignorance and knavery, shall govern the country. All that is really rotten in our politics is pretty sure to be found in the inflationist ranks, and the issue they present is not one that can be dodged or evaded, or mixed up with other things. No rascal among them will be able to drape himself in any kind of robe which will serve as a disguise; and what is, if possible, still better, the conflict is one from which honest men cannot retreat. This time there is no place to which the rich man or cultured man or industrious man who "hates politics" can retire, because inflation and repudiation are measures which reach every home, however luxurious or however humble, and which are intended by those who wield them to get at the owners of property and fleece them. The Butlerites, we may rely upon it, do not intend to play tricks with the public credit for nothing or for amusement. They are not theorists; they are practical men, who, to use their own slang, are "on the make"; and, if they succeed in this venture, are not likely to stop here. As Beck of Kentucky remarked the other day in Congress, "the people of the East have wealth, income, bonds, and Congress has a right to tax them all. He hoped to see the day when the wealth of the country, and not its poverty, would bear the burden of taxation." A more open threat of spoliation was never uttered against industry, frugality, and enterprise. We are glad it has come to this, because it indicates that the national disease has reached its crisis, and that the patient will now either throw it off or succumb. But it is not a moment too soon to begin to prepare the remedy, and we have seen no more valuable suggestion looking in this direction than that made by Dr. Bacon on Monday last, in a letter to Mr. W. W. Phelps, published in the *New York Tribune*; namely, that those members of Congress who have stood so well for good morals and sound policy should meet and draw up a statement of the issue before the country as they understand it, and thus furnish something in the nature of a platform to which the honest men of all parties can give in their adhesion.

SOCIALISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE cancerous disease which has struck its roots into the heart of so many of the oldest and most civilized American communities, assumes in different States different aspects. In Massachusetts—a State which has in some densely settled parts a large and ignorant working population, and, at the same time, by keeping alive the power and influence of the bar, has preserved the traditions and usages of a period when it was governed by lawyers—the government has passed into the hands of a legal demagogue, who originally got his power by cajoling a local proletariat, and has kept it by getting control of the powerful Federal Administration, which, silently but ceaselessly working year in and year out, gradually saps the foundations of the feeble and mutable State government. In New York, a community far less homogeneous and law-abiding than Massachusetts, with a population continually changing and intent only on making money, the preliminary moves in the game were found to be easy enough by a totally different sort of leader. In New York, neither education nor a regular profession proved necessary. All that was needed was to begin with “sympathy with the masses.” After that, stealing and forging did the rest. It was Tweed’s great misfortune that he belonged to a losing party. Had he not made the mistake of allying his fortunes with the Democrats, and so losing the chance of getting permanent control of the Custom-house and Post-office, he might still be distributing coal to the poor of New York, and hold a position second not even to Mr. Thomas Murphy or Mr. Butler himself in the affections of the head of the Administration. Tweed is now in jail, while Butler is the leader of the House, but they are both products of the same general causes, with just such individual differences as we might expect from the different localities which have produced them. The same disease has been rotting away the fibre of the South Carolina government, and has produced, to feed and fatten on the corruption which engenders them, not one, but a swarm of little Tweeds and little Butlers, some black and some white. South Carolina, perhaps from her impoverished condition, has not yet reached the point at which a single demagogue or thief, armed with some Federal judge’s orders or backed by some Custom-house gang of hired voters, gets control of the local machinery and bids defiance to law and morality. “Butlerism” in South Carolina is a more complex affair.

The present condition of South Carolina can only be understood by a consideration of the character of the population and the changes which have taken place in it since the close of the war. There are now about three hundred thousand whites in the State to four hundred thousand blacks. The general effect of the Reconstruction acts may be put in a few words. They left the property of the State in the hands of the disfranchised whites, and the governing power in the hands of the negroes. From that time to this, politics in South Carolina have consisted of determined efforts on the part of a few designing men, with the aid of the negro vote, to plunder the property-holders. The first set who succeeded in doing this were the carpet-baggers, who from 1868 to 1872 ruled the State through the negroes. Just as Tweed got the votes of the ignorant Irish in New York, or as Butler gets the votes of the “poor boys” in the shoemaking districts of Massachusetts, the carpet-baggers got the votes of the negroes. There is undoubtedly a great deal of difference among the South Carolina negroes in intelligence and morality. Among the small number of negroes in the cities who have always been free there is a good deal of industry, intelligence, and good conduct. But the average of intelligence among the rest is very low—so low that they are but slightly above the level of animals. On the sea-coast and on the rivers they talk an outlandish idiom which is so different from English that in the witness-box they are with difficulty understood by judge or jury, and when on the jury itself they must certainly be very far from understanding either the address of counsel or the charge of the judge. As they are ignorant, they are of course credulous. The quality of their minds and their fitness for the discharge of delicate political duties may be gathered from the fact that in one of the State elections

held since the war, in which Judge Carpenter, an old South Carolinian and a Republican, ran against the carpet-bag candidate, the two most serious charges brought against him were, first, that if he was elected, he would return them to slavery again, and, second, failing that, he would not allow their wives and daughters to wear hoop-skirts. On the other hand, the great argument used on the carpet-bag side—an argument which was urged on the stump from one end of the State to the other—was that the real owners of the lands, dwelling-houses, gin-houses, and everything in the State were not the white rebels, but the loyal blacks; or, as Senator Beverly Nash, himself a negro leader, and one of the small Butlers of the State, said in a speech at Columbus to six or eight thousand men, after the taxpayers had begun their attempt at reform, “The reformers complain of taxes being too high. I tell you that they are not high enough. I want them taxed until they put these lands back where they belong, into the hands of those who worked for them. You worked for them, you labored for them, and were sold to pay for them, and you ought to have them.” Such was the “key-note” of the campaign during the carpet-bag period.

The Convention of 1868 which drew up a State constitution, was composed of seventy-two negroes and forty-nine whites. This convention made provision for a levy of \$2,230,950, yet only 13 of these 72 negroes paid taxes. In the Legislature of 1869, there were 12 black and 20 white senators. Eight of these 12 paid no taxes. In the House, there were 86 black and 37 white members; 68 of the 86 paid no taxes. This was the machinery which was set in motion to produce the South Carolina of to-day. It would be a waste of time to attempt to trace in detail the operation of these causes in producing their legitimate results. We will state the results themselves.

The days of the carpet-baggers are gone by. South Carolina is governed by its own native-born citizens as much as Massachusetts or Illinois. In the House of Representatives (we quote the observations of Mr. J. S. Pike, who travelled through the State only a year ago), sit 124 members. Of these, 30 are pure white men, and the remainder black; but as 7 out of the 30 white men vote with the black, the real strength of the opposition is only 23. The Speaker is black, the clerk is black, the doorkeepers are black, the pages are black, the chairman of the committee of ways and means is black, and the chaplain is black. “At some of the desks sit colored men whose types it would be hard to find outside of Congo; whose costume, visages, attitude, and expressions only befit the forecastle of a buccaneer.” The Lieutenant-Governor, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, the Treasurer, are all blacks. The Governor alone is a white, elected by black votes.

As to the manner in which business is conducted in this Black Parliament, we give Mr. Pike’s own words:

“They are ‘quick as lightning’ at detecting points of order, and they certainly make incessant and extraordinary use of their knowledge. No one is allowed to talk five minutes without interruption, and one interruption is the signal for another and another, until the original speaker is smothered under an avalanche of them. Forty questions of privilege will be raised in a day. At times, nothing goes on but alternating questions of order and of privilege. The inefficient colored friend who sits in the Speaker’s chair cannot suppress this extraordinary element of the debate. Some of the blackest members exhibit a pertinacity of intrusion in raising these points of order and questions of privilege that few white men can equal. Their struggles to get the floor, their bellowings and physical contortions, baffle description. The Speaker’s hammer plays a perpetual tattoo all to no purpose. The talking and the interruptions from all quarters go on with the utmost license. Every one esteems himself as good as his neighbor, and puts in his oar, apparently as often for love of riot and confusion as for anything else. It is easy to imagine what are his ideas of propriety and dignity among a crowd of his own color, and these are illustrated without reserve. The Speaker orders a member whom he has discovered to be particularly unruly to take his seat. The member obeys, and with the same motion that he sits down throws his feet on to his desk, hiding himself from the Speaker by the soles of his boots. In an instant he appears again on the floor. After a few experiences of this sort, the Speaker threatens, in a laugh, to call ‘the gemman’ to order. This is considered a capital joke, and a guffaw follows. The laugh goes round, and then the peanuts are cracked and munched faster than ever; one hand being employed in fortifying the inner man with this nutriment of universal use, while the other enforces the views of the orator.”

The helpless condition of the judiciary may be inferred from this account of the legislature: Last year a judge was threatened with

impeachment, and was telegraphed to appear before the legislature at Columbia, because it was alleged that in a case tried in Charleston, involving a claim for damages against a railroad, he "had made improper reflections on a colored woman of doubtful character." Two or three months since, in a trial for larceny, a colored man had been proved guilty of larceny by three respectable witnesses of his own color. The jury (black) acquitted him, but as none of them could write, and, after the verdict had been rendered, several of them declared it was not their decision, the judge came to the conclusion that they were incompetent and discharged them. A resolution was immediately introduced into the legislature for impeaching the judge, on the ground that he had denied to blacks the right to sit on juries. The judge was R. B. Carpenter, not a suspected character, but a Republican, who cast his vote for Grant in 1872.

The finances of the State are involved in hopeless confusion. D. T. Corbin, United States District-Attorney, a leading Republican senator, was obliged to admit in 1872, and in a speech in favor of the re-election of General Grant, that under Governor Orr, the first reconstruction governor, the bonded debt amounted to \$5,500,000, with a floating debt of \$1,500,000 more, while at the time of his speech the State was saddled with a bonded debt of \$16,000,000 and a floating debt of two or three millions more. The money was obtained in New York by a man named Kimpton, who acted as financial agent of the State, who had been required by the Governor to give good bonds for the faithful performance of his duties, and who had accomplished this end, it was understood, by getting as sureties Henry Clews & Co. of this city. Henry Clews & Co., however, in reality only signed as witnesses to Kimpton's signature. Kimpton managed his business so well that in 1871 the interest, commissions, and stamps paid on short loans made in New York amounted to nearly as much as the entire interest on the State debt, with a large commission account in favor of Kimpton still unsettled. There is no use, however, in going into details. It is enough that the taxable property in the State before the war was \$490,000,000, and is now assessed at \$180,000,000, while good judges are of opinion that it is not worth \$100,000,000; that the taxes levied before the war were not over \$500,000, and are now \$2,700,000, while the legislative expenses have crept up from \$40,000 a year to \$291,000, and the public printing, for a government which can neither read nor write, from \$5,000 to \$450,000; that land assessed at \$15,000 is offered in the market for \$5,000. The sum and substance of it all is confiscation. Property is no longer owned in South Carolina under the protection of the laws or Constitution; it is held until it is taken away by Beverly Nash, or Moses, or any one of the gang who govern the State by means of the votes of the colored race. Farms are sold to pay taxes; the old, rich plantations are broken up; the whites are driven out of the State or disfranchised, and a queer aristocracy of color is set up, with the rich Congo thief on top and the degraded Anglo-Saxon at the bottom.

This is what socialism has done for South Carolina. It is not a question any longer about the more or less good government of the State, or the rights of minorities, but whether the whites can stay in the State at all. The taxpayers have appealed to Washington for moral support, and they have been dismissed by the President with surly anger and contempt, and are now actually engaged in begging General Butler, the greatest socialistic demagogue of our day, to have a little mercy on them. It is not a mistaken instinct which leads them to him, for they know very well that the South Carolinian imitators derive their power from the steady-moving and merciless machinery which fills the custom-houses and post-offices with his tools; and it is this machinery which makes socialism in America the dangerous, deadly poison it is. Left to themselves, the whites of South Carolina would find some means to govern the State. But they are not left to themselves. They are gradually being driven out of the State, and the only question remaining to be settled is how long it will take to make the once "sovereign

State" of South Carolina a truly loyal, truly Republican, truly African San Domingo.

THE CHANCES OF THE SEPTENNAT.

PARIS, March 28.

ON the 16th of March the son of Napoleon III. attained the day which was marked for his majority by the terms of the late Imperial constitution, and the Bonapartists chose the occasion for a political demonstration. Several thousands of Frenchmen (the exact number is probably only known to the director of the French police) crossed the Channel, went to Chislehurst, and paid their homage to the young Prince whom they consider as their sovereign. The young cadet of Woolwich received them as if he had been at the Tuileries, with the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor which his father put in his cradle. The Duke of Padua was the mouthpiece of the pilgrims, and the young Prince in his answer told him that as soon as the powers of Marshal MacMahon, who was the companion of the glories and the misfortunes of his father, should have come to an end, he would be ready to attend the responsibilities of power, but that he would receive his power from the people himself, as his father had done before him. The direct appeal to universal suffrage, the old Roman *plébiscite*, remains, therefore, the cry of the Bonapartist party. The young Prince did not explain how he intended to reconcile the principle of election with the principle of heredity. It was much noticed that his cousin, Prince Napoleon, did not go to Chislehurst. This gifted but unpopular prince represents much better than the young Prince Imperial the dogmas of modern Cæsarism; he is a democrat, and may even be called a demagogue; he stands up openly for doctrines which would completely destroy parliamentary government and confide the whole administration of the empire to a man directly elected by the people. Of course, this man must be a Bonaparte, must represent the Revolution; and the sovereign people has as much right to choose the son of the ex-King of Westphalia as the son of Napoleon III. When the old eagle is dead, the strongest eaglet becomes master in the nest. Prince Napoleon never goes to Chislehurst; he is an open enemy of the Empress Eugénie; he edits a newspaper in which the doctrines of democratic Cæsarism are developed with the greatest candor. He frequents only a few journalists and literary men; he is in communication with Mr. Bradlaugh in London and many well-known leaders of the revolutionary school. At the same time, he does not forget that he is the son-in-law of the King of Italy, and he has many friends in Florence and in Rome. At the present time his star is below the horizon; he is getting old. I meet him sometimes in my street, as he is my neighbor; the Cæsar type is becoming more and more marked in his handsome face, but it seems to me that there are in it visible signs of discouragement and of sorrow. Who can say, however, whether this man, who is now almost forgotten, who has no partisans in the army or among the public functionaries, may not soon become the most formidable representative and exponent of the Imperial ideas? It cannot be denied that he has preserved the tradition of Bonapartism in all its purity; the workmen of the faubourgs look upon him as a sort of socialist prince, as a *César déclassé*, as About once called him. When the workmen become completely disgusted with the parliamentary leaders of the opposition, if they discern that the opposition of Gambetta is, after all, more in words than in deeds, they may again, as they did in 1850, turn to the man who represents not liberty but equality, who would demolish half Paris and build it anew so as to give labor to the people, who would confiscate the railways and pass laws against property.

It is somewhat humiliating, at such a small remove from Sedan, to discuss the prospects of the Imperialist party; but the Cardinal de Retz said long ago, in his immortal Memoirs, "A great name, even when it covers nothing, is a great force." The name of Bourbon is a force, and so is still the name of Napoleon. Sedan has already its legend, like Waterloo and Saint Helena. The Bonapartist papers repeat every day that the war was forced upon the Emperor by Germany; that if the war found him ill prepared, it was because the opposition in the Chamber was always depriving him of the means of augmenting the army and the military resources of the country. If you believed these panegyrists, the Emperor was a victim; he was dragged to his fate like an innocent lamb. If this be true, I ask, what is the use of a despotic and imperial government? The Emperor himself naturally took this view of his case, and Prince Bismarck told the world in his famous despatch after Sedan that when he first saw his prisoner, the Emperor told him that the French had forced him to make the war that he had always himself been adverse to it. Nations have a singular facility for forgetting what they wish to forget; their memory as well as their intelligence is, so to speak, at the mercy of their instincts. The monarchical instincts of France are still alive. The desire to live with a parliament, with a

free press, amid continual political agitation, becomes at times a fever; but the fever soon abates, and the old longing for a strong government, surrounded with the splendor of a refined civilization, for noiseless order, for a sort of mechanical symmetry and perfection, invariably comes back afterwards.

The monarchical instincts can no longer follow the old channel which history opened for the Bourbons; the Comte de Chambord has, as it were, dammed it by his impervious folly, and the waters are slowly at work, constantly accumulating, and looking for some outlet. Whose fault is it if they find none but the Bonapartist channel, which many hands are engaged in deepening and enlarging? This hidden and invisible work of the national instinct is the danger which threatens the parliamentary cause; and the Republicans, who are inimical to the Septennat and to the Broglie government, increase the danger unwittingly. Their constant and bitter attacks against the Assembly of Versailles have no practical object, as they are unable to defeat the majority of the Chamber; they simply make parliamentary institutions more unpopular. An electoral law will soon be discussed, which is, after all, the most liberal you could find in any part of Europe, as it simply disqualifies vagrants and those who receive parochial relief; but the Republican press repeat every day that the Assembly means to mutilate universal suffrage, and thus give the Imperialists the right to say that the Empire alone is strong enough to base itself on the nation. The *London Times* is the echo of these attacks, and takes it for granted that three millions of electors out of eight millions are soon to be deprived of their rights.

I think that I am not influenced by personal sympathies when I say that the monarchical instincts of the country would much sooner attach themselves to the Orléans than to the Bonapartes. For the sake of the Orléans the country, notwithstanding its great and in a certain measure just repugnance, was ready a few months ago to contract a new alliance with the Bourbons. But the Comte de Chambord refused to sign a treaty with the nation, and, alas! the Orléans are for the present paralyzed by the engagements they entered into with the head of the Bourbon family. They gave away everything—their good repute, their popularity, their personal ambitions—in the hope of insuring the monarchy a strong and solid basis; but their hope was disappointed, and they cannot now, in cold blood, assume the attitude which the Revolution of 1830 forced upon their father. The Comte de Paris is living quietly in Paris, correcting the proof-sheets of his great history of the American war (two volumes of which are soon to appear). Wherever he goes he is received with universal respect; he receives twice a week in his house; and there you can hear the oldest names of France announced—the names of those who for forty years had averted their heads from those whom they considered as the accomplices of an usurpation. But what are these names—what is all the beauty, the wit, and the splendor of what must still be considered as the aristocracy of France—of what use is this new marriage between the representatives of the past and the writers, the politicians of the present day, if all these forces are grouped round an impossibility, a dream? The Comte de Paris said distinctly that he would not accept the crown; if the Comte de Chambord should die or abdicate, the monarchy would probably be re-established in twenty-four hours; but the country cannot wait patiently till he dies or till he abdicates. Meanwhile, some sort of a government must be established; the Septennat has been instituted as a momentary shelter against radicalism or imperialism. Time alone will show in what direction public opinion will run during the seven years of peace which have been allowed to us; whether the Septennat will, by the mere force of this public opinion, assume a more republican or a more monarchical form.

At present, Marshal MacMahon considers justly that he has a right to defend the executive against the impatience of all parties. Having received the title of Duke of Magenta and the dignity of marshal from the Emperor Napoleon III., he has not been suspected of any harshness towards the Bonapartists, but he forbade all the public functionaries and all the officers of the army to go to Chislehurst; and the Duke of Padua, having organized the late manifestation, has been deprived of the title of mayor, which he has always borne in the little village where he lives in summer. The municipal councillors of Ajaccio who went to Chislehurst have also been suspended. By birth, as well as by all his wife's connections, the Marshal may be said to belong to the Legitimist party; but he has distinctly informed the Legitimists that they must not consider him as their tool, that the Assembly has freely elected him President for seven years, and that he intends to remain in that post till he is legally discharged. We must, therefore, expect soon to see the last Legitimist efforts, and the great Bonapartist agitation will likewise come to an end, at least apparently. The Assembly, so long as it lasts, and I imagine that it cannot well dissolve before two years, will simply support the Septennat. What the

new Assembly will be, it would be difficult to tell. But it will probably find beside itself a Senate armed with a strong prerogative, and even with the power of dissolving the Second Chamber. Then only the real difficulties may begin if the President and the Upper Chamber are not in harmony with the Chamber which has issued from universal suffrage. Meanwhile, we have breathing time. If France finds herself getting prosperous again, if no difficulties arise from the outside, if the new Chamber is moderate in its tone and in its view, it is quite possible that France will insensibly drift into a sort of monarchical republic, in which the President will be somewhat in the position of the stadtholders of Holland, and this protectorate of the Republic will probably fall into the hands of the Princes of Orléans. That it will remain in some military hand is little to be doubted; France is under the obligation of maintaining for years to come an enormous army, and the commander of this army will most likely be the first magistrate of the country. Even in the American Republic public opinion has more than once, and especially in times of danger, chosen its first magistrate from among the generals of its armies. How can it be otherwise in an old country like France, whose capital is not in a remote district, and whose chief of state is obliged to appear often before the inhabitants of a city of more than two millions, and to receive constantly foreign princes, kings, and emperors? The days of the good Citizen-King are past: nobody would now laugh at the mention of the umbrella which he carried under his arm; we live in other days—in times when Bismarck has to appear with a helmet, in his dress of a cuirassier—in times of iron and blood.

Correspondence.

MR. EDWARD KING ON THE PEAKS OF OTTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You praise the article upon Virginia in the April number of *Scribner's Monthly*, one of the "Great South" series by Edward King. In that article occurs a brief account of a visit to the Peaks of Otter in the month of September, which contains some statements that I find difficult of comprehension. In September, 1871, I crossed and recrossed the Blue Ridge on horseback with a friend, by way of the Peaks of Otter, ascending the rock-crowned South Peak twice and spending one night in the gap between it and Round Top. Upon reading Mr. King's description, I was at a loss how to account for the difference between it and my recollections, and wrote to the companion of that delightful excursion to compare notes, and he confirms my very distinct impressions.

Mr. King speaks of seeing in the gap "the primitive hotel surrounded by flourishing orchards." We stopped twice at the only farm-house in the gap, and conversed a good deal with its occupant, a very gentle, intelligent, and hospitable man named Horsley, who had been the landlord of the hotel burned down the year previous. We had read "Porte Crayon's" admirable sketches of the neighborhood as it was twenty years ago, and among our enquiries before ascending the peak, we asked Mr. Horsley about the poised rock of which we had read and seen in the graphic pen-and-pencil sketches of that writer. To our regret our host informed us that the balanced rock had been rolled off from its dizzy perch several years before by a party of young scamps, for the sport of seeing it go crashing down the precipice on whose verge it stood. Upon ascending the peak, we saw the smooth place worn by the movable rock where it had formerly stood.

"But," says Mr. King after describing the ascent, "then making our way on to the topmost stone, so delicately balanced that it sometimes sways and trembles in the wind," etc.—and there is a picture of them taking the magnificent view from the top of this same oscillating rock that it would take a Titan to replace upon its perch.

BLUE RIDGE.

[So far as we know the ground over which Mr. King has been travelling, his descriptions, as we read them, seemed to us neither very new nor very good, to be sure, but nevertheless true to the facts. Apparently, our correspondent's letter makes it desirable that Mr. King should come forward with an explanation.—ED. NATION.]

A STRANGE SUGGESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In looking over the interesting and instructive debates by the National House of Representatives on the currency question, I have been much struck by the contrast between the vigorous, trenchant language used by the members in referring to one another and what strikes me as the antiquated and lifeless tone of the formal part of the debate. In the debate of Friday

last, for instance, when Mr. Butler said, speaking to the question of expansion and free banking, "He thought they had better 'pawl'—that is, put down the catch and hold what they had got, and then spit on their hands and take another heave," and afterwards, when the same member, wishing to intimate that Mr. S. S. Cox of New York was mistaken in something he said, observed that if his "ears had been as acute as they are long" he would have understood; and when Mr. Cox replied that his (Mr. Butler's) ears ought to be long, "for he is the organ of this Administration," and afterwards, referring to Mr. Butler's remark about "pawling," declared that he, at least, should not like "to have his [Mr. Butler's] hands"—all this is vigorous and to the point—a "broadly human" debate. But all the time the members are being referred to by each other and by the Speaker as the "honorable gentleman from New York" or the "gentleman from Massachusetts"—a piece of formalism pleasant to the ear, no doubt, but quite out of keeping with the tone of the debate.

It has occurred to me (and before I begin any agitation on the subject I should like to have your opinion) that the substitution in the parliamentary customs of Congress of what might be called descriptive epithets for this worn-out form would be an improvement on the present practice. Instead of beginning with the invariable sameness now characterizing debates, "the honorable gentleman from" Maine, Massachusetts, or Florida, and then startling everybody by the pungeney and quaint wit of the allusion to the length of the member's ears, thus opening the way for the retort parliamentary, "You lie, you thief, you lie," would it not be better, and more in harmony with the generally candid and frank spirit of these debates, to refer to the member by some description which would not be so confusing to the mind, and which would fix the attention of the assembly more certainly upon him? If this change were made, we might have critical financial debates reported in this way:

The Speaker. The Bounty-jumper from Maine has the floor.

(Cries of question, question.)

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a personal explanation—if the Bounty-jumper from Maine will allow me five minutes of his time—

The Speaker. The Cadet-broker from South Carolina rises to a personal explanation.

Mr. —. I rise, sir, to allude in a few brief remarks to an occurrence which took place on the floor of this House a few days since, when it was publicly stated here, on this spot, that a venerable gentleman, whom it is unnecessary for me to refer to more particularly, was engaged in a conspiracy to defraud the revenue of the United States. Sir, I wish to hurl back that slander, and to denounce its author—the Forger from New York—as wanting in those qualities of gentlemanliness and truthfulness which ought of right to be the characteristics of every member of this House.

The Speaker. Has the Cadet-broker from South Carolina finished his personal explanation?

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker—

The Speaker. The question before the House is—

Mr. —. If the Bounty-jumper from Maine will yield me three minutes—

The Speaker. Does the Bounty-jumper yield?

Mr. —. I yield to the Forger from New York for three minutes.

Mr. —. I rise, Mr. Speaker, to denounce the—

The Speaker. The question before the House is whether the amendment to House Bill No. 111 (introduced by the Ballot-stuffer from Illinois), limiting—

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker—

The Speaker. The Bankrupt from Rhode Island has the floor.

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the Boss-thief from Massachusetts.

Mr. —. I only desire to say that the clamor raised by the newspapers—

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker, I move we adjourn.

The Speaker. It is moved by the Straw-bidder from California that we adjourn. Is the motion seconded?

Mr. —. Mr. Speaker, I second the motion.

The Speaker. The motion to adjourn is seconded by the Informer from New York. All in favor of the motion—

Mr. —. It has been just whispered to me by the Monopolist from Pennsylvania—

The Speaker. The Jury-rigger from Nevada is not in order. A motion to adjourn is before the House. (Motion put, but not carried.)

(Cries of question, question.)

The Speaker. The question before the House is on the adoption of the amendment to House Bill No. 111 (introduced by the Ballot-stuffer from Illinois), limiting the currency to two thousand eight and ninety-eight million nine hundred—

but it is unnecessary to carry the idea out any further.

The introduction of descriptive epithets or appellatives would have the further advantage that the analysis of the vote, which is always made after an important crisis in our parliamentary history occurs, would really exhibit better the character of the voting. At present, the vote is analyzed by dividing the members into Democrats and Republicans—a classification which does not really tell us anything more about the matter than a division by the color of the eye or hair. But if we had an analysis founded on such a classification as I have ventured here to suggest, we should always know

exactly "who is who." We should see the complexion of votes, not by the manner in which it affected the creed of obsolescent parties, but by the way in which it affected monopolists, "corruptionists," bribe-takers, forgers, "dead-beats," informers, perjurers, "cadet-brokers," "sneak-thieves," and all the classes at present engaged in the work of governing our dear, dear country.—Yours for candor and reality,

A PROGRESSIVE MAN.

Notes.

TO any one engaged in the serious study of the transportation questions of the day we recommend a paper on the "Elements of Cost of Railroad Freight Traffic," by O. Chanute, C.E., member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. This is as truly scientific a contribution to the subject as has yet been made, and perhaps we should not greatly err in calling it the most valuable. From its technical nature it does not readily admit of an abstract; it appears in full in the above Society's Transactions for March, 1874.—The Cornell *Era* states that Prof. Goldwin Smith will deliver his customary course of lectures at the university this term. Prof. Willard Fiske, in the same journal, gives notice that he will despatch towards the close of this month a case of books to be given to the National Library at Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland; it being the intention of the people of that island to celebrate on the 2d of August their thousandth anniversary as a nation. Similar cases will be forwarded from Harvard, Yale, Lafayette, the University of Wisconsin, the Smithsonian Institution, and the American Geographical Society, so that the convenience of most persons desirous of contributing will be pretty well consulted. Maps, engravings, photographs, etc., as well as books, will be acceptable.—In noticing Mr. Sumner's speech last week we stated inadvertently that it was published by his literary executors. This it seems was a mistake, which we were led into making by the editorial statement of the *Tribune* that the speech was published "in deference to the wishes of Mr. Sumner's most intimate and trusted friends." As a usual thing, the only intimate and trusted friends who would have the right to request such a publication would be the literary executors, but we learn that they knew nothing about the circumstance of publication, were not consulted, and gave no authority.

—In the first number of the present volume of the *Nation* we reviewed at some length the French edition of M. Auguste Laugel's 'England, Political and Social.' This work has since been translated by Prof. James M. Hart, and now comes to us with the imprint of G. P. Putnam's Sons. A few words of criticism in his otherwise highly-laudatory preface, and here and there in brief foot-notes to the text, have been ventured upon by the translator, but for the most part he has endeavored to let the author speak for himself in a version carefully and faithfully made, and (so far as we have examined it) noticeably free from stiffness and Gallicisms. Another republication which needs no fresh introduction to our readers is the library edition of Taine's 'Tour through the Pyrenees' (Henry Holt & Co.), which, for convenience in reading, and perhaps for all purposes, we prefer to the larger and more costly edition illustrated by Doré. The present volume exhibits in print, paper, and binding the tastefulness which has become almost a trade-mark of the above-named publishers. Lord Derby's poetical rendering of the *Iliad*, in two handsome volumes (fifth American edition from the ninth English revised), is republished by Porter & Coates, Philadelphia. Dr. Shelton Mackenzie contributes a brief biographical sketch of the translator, giving the leading facts of his career, and in a superficial way indicating his distinguishing traits as a Parliamentarian and an aristocrat *par excellence*. The fourth volume of Curtius's 'History of Greece,' and the eighth and index volumes of Burton's 'History of Scotland,' have been issued by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., and will receive our attention hereafter. The same house has brought out a fresh edition of Prof. Agassiz's six lectures on 'The Structure of Animal Life,' delivered in Brooklyn in 1862 (Volume IV. of Graham Lectures on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in his works). From the Messrs. Appleton we have received a new and revised edition of Bain's 'Logic'; from J. B. Ford & Co., a new edition of Mr. Beecher's 'Pleasant Talk about Fruits, Flowers, and Farming,' with additions consisting of articles on rural affairs contributed to the *Ledger*, and a heretofore unpublished address on "The Apple."

—The *Iapi Oayc* (Word-Carrier), a monthly newspaper, in the Dakota language, was noticed in the *Nation* in 1871 (June 15). It has reached the third number of its third volume. Last year it was enlarged, with a change of type, and it is now a handsome sheet. The fourth page is given to contributions and selections in English. It is published by the missionaries of the American Board and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and edited by the Rev. John P. Williamson, of Yankton Agency, with the co-

operation of the Rev. S. R. Riggs, one of the fathers of the Dakota mission. More than a thousand Dakota Indians can read, and about five hundred subscribe to the *Iapi Oaye*. But the number of Indian readers, though steadily increasing, is insufficient to support the paper, and the editors appeal to friends of the Dakotas to become subscribers. The price is only fifty cents a year (which may be enclosed to the Rev. John P. Williamson, Greenwood, D. T.). To any one who is interested in the study of American languages, the paper would be cheap at ten times its cost, and the editors suggest that, while some may subscribe for this consideration, and others for the sake of hearing about the Indians and the mission work, "any one may take it for the consciousness of helping on a good cause." The Yankton Dakotas are divided into eight bands, the names of which, in English, are: Woodshooter, Lights (Lungs), Gourd Ear-rings, Lip-grease, Lynx, Roaster, Bad Nation, Half-Breed. The chiefs of the first six bands are called, Struck-by-the-Ree, Jumping Thunder, Standing Medicine Cow, Swan, Pretty Rock, and Feather Ear-ring.

—Another Indian newspaper is *Our Monthly*, printed in the Creek (Muskogee) language at Tullahassee, Creek Nation. The number for January, 1874, begins the third volume. It is published, we believe, by the mission teachers of the Tullahassee Manual Labor School, of which the Rev. Wm. S. Robertson and his wife are the principals. The general appearance of this little sheet—if not quite so elegant as a Chicago press enables Mr. Williamson to give to the *Iapi Oaye*—is very creditable to the young compositor and pressman, a lad of thirteen years. *Our Monthly*, like more pretentious journals, has its Washington correspondent—a self-taught Creek, Mr. Thompson Perryman, who writes for the January number from "Wasenty cuko, Ryfucose nettv 10, 1874." David Hodge, Legus Perryman (Lekvs Pylemyv), and Napoleon Moore, trustees of the Manual Labor School, publish their official report on the condition of that institution, in which, it appears, "history, algebra, and Latin are among the studies of the most advanced class." Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson contributes a Muskogee hymn. This lady has attained a remarkable proficiency in the language, and those who are interested in such studies will be glad to learn that she has made considerable progress in the compilation of a Creek dictionary.

—The *Virginus* case, considering the very dangerous and threatening aspect it had at one time, seems to have produced thus far nothing but happy results. The international animosity which burned so fiercely between Spain and the United States for a week had quite died out a week later, and not even the burning words of Mr. John F. Patterson, when he demanded his rights as an American citizen, nor the sinking of the coal-barge in front of the Spanish sloop-of-war, nor the accidental destruction of the fraudulent *Virginus* herself on her way to judgment, has had any effect in disturbing the amicable relations existing between the sister Republics of Spain and America. Not even the seizure of the *Edgar Stuart*, an intended blockade-runner, owned actually by Cuba Libre, though nominally by Zimri W. Butcher, who, it is needless to say, is like John F. Patterson an American citizen, has aroused much excitement, and neither the disappearance of Mr. Ralph Keeler, the *Tribune* correspondent, nor the Spanish editorial articles in that paper, evidently written either by Castelar himself or by one deeply interested in his fortunes, has as yet seriously embroiled the two countries. The case is no less remarkable, too, for the entire agreement of everybody with regard to the legal bearing of the issue which has been reached since the loss of the ship, than it is for the wide diversity of legal opinion which existed before she went down. That the seizure of the vessel by the Cubans was an act justified by the facts; that the execution of the prisoners, or rather the manner in which it was done, was barbarous, and unwarranted by law or custom of civilized nations, seems now to be generally admitted; and all the talk about the insult to the flag seems to be quite forgotten, as it well may be, considering that carrying it is proved to have been fraudulent. We confess, however, we were not prepared to find Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, whose pamphlets have been hitherto rather noticeable for their opposition to than for their coincidence with the prevailing tone of feeling and belief on political and social subjects, coming to the same general conclusion. In an interesting and able pamphlet, entitled 'The Case of the *Virginus*, considered with reference to the Law of Self-defence' (New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co.; London: Trübner & Co.), Mr. Curtis examines the case at length, and declares his opinion that the seizure was entirely justifiable; that the executions at Santiago were barbarous; that as the *Virginus* was sailing under the American flag, the local authorities could not tell whether it was used fraudulently or not, and that until the character of the vessel could be determined, they were bound not to kill anybody. A valuable contribution to the history of the *Virginus* case was made also, not a great while ago, to the *Boston Advertiser*, by Mr. R. H. Dana, jr., of Boston, which contained the most exonerating examina-

tion of the opinion given by Attorney-General Williams on the subject, showing that whenever Mr. Williams had the opportunity of going wrong in the case, he had done so; and whenever he had gone right, it had been by the grace of God. Mr. Curtis declines to examine the Attorney-General's law at all, apparently out of pity for the unfortunate man.

—A bill relating to naturalization, now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, is of some interest not only to foreigners but to native Americans. The ostensible object of the bill is to prevent frauds in naturalization, and to prevent the use of fraudulent naturalization papers. By the present system the right of naturalization is exercised (by the permission of the National Government) by the State courts. This duty is performed gratuitously, and there are several million naturalized citizens in the United States. Until the election of 1868, not very much complaint had been made as to the manner in which the business was conducted in the State courts, although that there was room for it is generally admitted. At that election the grossest and most barefaced frauds were committed in the city and State of New York, and a Congressional investigating committee so reported. The startling discovery made in the Rosenberg case that it was extremely doubtful whether there was any law in existence which provided any punishment for fraudulently obtaining or using, at an election, a certificate of naturalization, rendered necessary, of course, an amendment of the laws, and the act of July 14, 1870, was passed, imposing severe penalties for fraud perpetrated by anybody in connection with naturalization. In 1871, a Presidential election then pending, an act was passed establishing a system of supervision of polls, in all cities having a population of 20,000 and upwards, by two persons to be appointed by the circuit courts of the United States on application of the rival political parties. These supervisors were to be under the protection of special deputy marshals, and were intended only as challengers. The new bill (House Bill No. 1,917) is obviously intended as an amendment to the act of July 14, 1870, though that bill is not referred to in the title, and it contains these provisions: The first section provides for the extension over the whole country of the system of supervision by two persons to be appointed by the circuit courts of the United States. This section is certainly unnecessary, because the laws of the States generally contain ample provision for the appointment of challengers. The second, third, and fourth sections provide for the appointment, in every judicial district containing a city having 200,000 inhabitants, of a "chief supervisor of elections," who is to have a general authority to attend at and take part in all judicial proceedings relating to naturalization, and to charge for his services in so supervising the courts \$5 a day; and authorize the chief to copy, at the expense of the United States, all judicial records of whatever kind relating to naturalization within his district; and make it a criminal offence for any person to interfere with the chief supervisor. The sixth and seventh sections provide that a district-attorney of the United States in any one of these districts may invalidate any certificate of naturalization in this way: He first presents a complaint to the circuit court, alleging fraud in the naturalization. The court thereupon is obliged to refer the matter to the chief supervisor, who, in the capacity of a United States commissioner, is to take the proofs and report them to the court, which thereupon may cancel the naturalization; and upon this order being made, the party affected is deprived of his rights of citizenship, "except such as he had before he became a citizen." The only notice of the pendency of these proceedings to which he is entitled is three days' notice; and if his residence is not known, then service is to be made on the clerk of the court which naturalized him. Section eight provides that papers and records of proceedings under this act shall be filed, not in the court which decides the case, but with the chief supervisor, who shall receive such fees as the clerks would be entitled to for similar services. By other provisions relating to fees, for which we have not space in detail, the expense to the United States from the copying of the records would be, in the city of New York alone, at least \$250,000—for work which is already done. Each record of naturalization contains eight or ten "folios," and the chief supervisor is allowed ten cents per folio for copying, fifteen cents per folio for entering and indexing, twenty cents for affixing the seal, and for filing each document ten cents. The provisions with regard to the revocation of naturalization certificates are so monstrous, and the whole bill so plainly a cover for fraud, that it needs looking into. Any naturalized citizen who desires to gain further information as to his chances of becoming an alien again had better confer with Mr. S. J. Glassey, 19 Park Place, who has recently been before the Committee on this subject.

—Mr. Richard A. Proctor having returned to England after what may be called a "great run" in this country, some estimate of the value of his visit to us seems not out of place. If Mr. Proctor's success as a lecturer be

measured by the number of lectures he has delivered in a given time, it must be pronounced great beyond precedent. Perhaps it was the most fortunate thing which could have happened to him that, on his first arrival in this country, he fell into some pecuniary difficulties in his arrangements with those at whose invitation he came over, by which he excited the sympathies of several influential men, whose exertions in his behalf led to a degree of success he could hardly otherwise have attained. Personally, he proved himself quite worthy of all the favor he received, and the judgment of those who knew him best will probably be, that all that was prejudicial to his reputation in his public utterances arose from a lack of knowledge of the world. Our judgment of his lectures must depend on the standpoint we take. His hearers were pleasantly entertained, saw multitudes of pictures of comets, satellites, and nebulae, and went away with many new ideas of the interior constitution of Jupiter, the protuberances of the sun, and the probable inhabitants of other worlds. The questions, whether such nebulae and star-clusters were ever really seen with a telescope, whether Kepler ever expressed such a view of the structure of the stellar system as the lecturer attributed to him, and whether there is any trustworthy evidence in favor of Mr. Proctor's opinion that Jupiter is white-hot, is one which some may deem relatively unimportant. Taking this view, the lectures were a great success. But if we take the ground that a popular lecturer should give a clear, correct, and connected view of the past and present state of the science with which he is dealing, then Mr. Proctor is less worthy of praise. He is too incautious in his statements, too rash in his speculations, and too diffuse in his mode of treatment. In these respects his lectures fall far behind his writings. Now that the sober truth can no longer harm Mr. Proctor, we may point out the exaggerated importance which he himself, three of his biographers in as many of our monthly magazines, and any number of news reporters, have attributed to a supposed battle about the transit of Venus which he has fought and won against the Astronomer-Royal. The plain fact is, that the plan persistently urged by him of occupying stations on and near the Antarctic continent is pronounced entirely impracticable by every competent navigator, for the reason that parties could neither be landed nor subsisted on such mere mountains of ice, and no one will attempt to carry it out. The question of the relative value of Halley's and De l'Isle's methods in the two transits of 1874 and 1882 is of no practical moment, for the reason that the mode of observing is the same in both methods, the difference being only in the choice of stations, which has to be determined by geographical rather than astronomical considerations. At most of the stations chosen by Airy the entire transit can be observed, and the observations can then be treated by either method. The idea that Mr. Proctor has defeated so solid a practical astronomer as Airy on questions so elementary as these is one the extensive dissemination of which, without one word of contradiction, does no credit to our press. It is true that his suggestion of an observing station in Northern India has been adopted, but we are not aware of any opposition to the suggestion from any source, and the conclusion might well have been the same had Mr. Proctor never lived.

—The Munich School of Art, hardly out of mourning yet for the death of Cornelius in 1867, lost in Kaulbach last week the patriarch of its idealism; its realism is left in the hands of Piloty, Wagner, and Andreas Muller. Overbeck and Schwanthaler, Schnorr and Heinrich Hess, Kaulbach and his master Cornelius, were the caryatides of that edifice of Bavarian renaissance which was the joy and hope of King Ludwig. Cornelius lived to be seventy-eight; Kaulbach would have been seventy next October. For a long generation these aged theorists lingered on in a world which was beginning to tire of their teachings; but their hold upon the age could not be said to fail entirely while Kaulbach survived. National schools always start from a classic revival, and the academic influence of David in France and West in England at the beginning of the century corresponds pretty closely with that of these painters in its second quarter. Their vehicle was fresco, as sculpture was that of the great Florentines under Lorenzo; they covered with their grandiose compositions the walls of churches and the stairways or saloons of that pasticcio in stucco-work which Ludwig erected under the name of the New Pinakothek. When solicited for an exhibition-picture they sent a cartoon, and by that means their feebleness of finish and the insipidity of their wall-paper tints did not impress themselves upon the public. Kaulbach, like Cornelius, is dealt with most kindly by the engravers. In these repetitions, his "Destruction of Jerusalem" (from the Pinakothek), his "Babel" (from the Museum), and his "Battle of the Huns" (a sepia-drawing for Count Raczynski) have obtained world-wide vogue. It is doubtful whether the attraction of these compositions is an attraction due to the art of painting at all; there is no charm of color, of drawing, or of quality; that technical mastery is absent which makes a square inch of any of Titian's or Correggio's canvases so instructive; the type of Kaulbach's hero, with ill-drawn contours and hard, beady eyes, is not much more valuable to art

than that of a Chinese warrior on a vase. At the same time, there is always some invention, a clear showing of some great situation, a brilliant plot, and an elaborate ingenuity in details. This ingenuity is constantly pushed to trivial limits which the grand style should know nothing of, as when Queen Elizabeth crushes a sweet-briar as a symbol of Mary Stuart, or the Muse of Legends allows ivy and creepers to grow among her hair. Kaulbach has not left a single great work that does not show that he was hurt by his dangerous success with Reynard the Fox. What is fine in his frescoes is their power of drama, and drama expressed in a way and borne to an extreme indicating that the search for devices was stronger in him than the search for good painting. This ability, in fact, is a literary and not an artistic quality, and when used in design it is apt to make up a budget of suggestions which design by itself can never explain; as if the end of art were to set us charades to guess. The valuable works Kaulbach leaves are, in fact, works on the one hand like his early picture of the "Madhouse," where real life is seen with intellectual insight and patiently interpreted, or, on the other hand, like his Reynard, where fancy is freely let loose. Another direction of his ingenuity, evinced in his "Birth of Steam" and "Merchant of Loves," has had an undercurrent of success only too immense in copies and photographs. Altogether, though, it cannot be denied that the Director of the Munich Academy has carried painting in its expressive function to heights it had always found inaccessible before his time, and has left a strong mark upon his age.

THE REVISED EDITION OF PRESCOTT'S WORKS.*

THIRTY years ago Mr. Prescott's name was held in grateful honor among his countrymen as one of the three or four who had done work entitling them to an established rank in the higher walks of literature. In the years that have passed since then many poets, historians, and essayists have taken their place by the side of Bryant, Prescott, and Irving, and not a few have like them gained European reputations. But these names are still the objects of the old affectionate regard which they inspired when on them almost alone rested the literary reputation of their country. This group is seen now even more clearly than then to have been the real starting-point of a genuine native literature—the earliest of our strictly literary writers who are likely to be remembered and read a hundred years hence.

On taking up again these volumes which so fascinated us a generation ago, one half fears to find that one's early judgment was at fault, and that, unused as our community was at that time to real criticism, it was carried away by some showy qualities of style and a natural eagerness to find merit in an American book. This fear proves ungrounded. Notwithstanding the great advance of historical science, Mr. Prescott's works well maintain their high rank and reputation. They may indeed be pronounced almost models of historical composition. In the first place, he was master of a style in which the characteristic features of perspicuity and elegance were joined to a good degree of animation. It is a pleasure to feel at every line that one has to do with a gentleman in the best meaning of that much-abused word. But however distinguished he is for delicacy of appreciation, sensitiveness of judgment, and the strictest adherence to the canons of taste, he yet cannot be reproached with a timid fastidiousness. It cannot be said of him: *Sectantem levia nervi deficient animique; . . . serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procella*. He is no doubt somewhat deficient in the sense of humor and in the power of indignation. He certainly does not shrink from strong expressions of detestation when describing the fiendish acts of the Inquisition and similar deeds; but, after all, one longs at times for a touch of fiery indignation in depicting such scenes.

Another quality that distinguishes this historian is a calm and impartial judgment, which one can hardly separate in thought from a thorough conscientiousness. Judicious and conscientious are the epithets which one would most readily apply to him; and these qualities are so marked as to secure, we should suppose, (at least to deserve), the complete confidence of readers of every school of thought. Mr. Motley is always a champion of Protestantism and republicanism; Mr. Prescott is no less a Protestant and a republican, but his judgment is so fair and his expression of it so moderate and candid, that a fair-minded Catholic might read his "History of Philip II." without offence and even with approval. Compare, for example, his description of Philip's character and habits, in his third volume, with Mr. Motley's "caricature" of the same sovereign, as it has been called by an eminent German critic. One who reads only the "Dutch Republic" finds it hard to understand how Philip filled so large a place in the minds of his contemporaries, and how he failed to make an even more complete shipwreck of his

* "The Works of William H. Prescott." New and Revised Edition, with the Author's Latest Corrections and Additions. Edited by John Foster Kirk. I. History of the Conquest of Mexico, 3 vols. II. Reign of Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, 3 vols. III. History of the Conquest of Peru, Vol. I. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873-4.

empire than was actually the case. But the reader of 'Philip II.' is made acquainted with a prince as suspicious, as cruel, as bigoted, as perfidious, but still not altogether a pedant or an idiot. From this conscientiousness of judgment, from his habit of understatement, and his care never to do injustice by a careless use of his authorities, it results that Mr. Prescott's work will have permanent value whatever may be the advance in historical knowledge and criticism.

These are the qualities of the man—those which secure him the entire confidence of his readers. From them we pass to the qualities which more especially characterize him as an historian. With his strict integrity and clear judgment he could not fail to make his preparation as broad and thorough as was possible. Not a scholar by profession, never called distinctively a learned man, he knew all that was to be known upon the subject which he selected to write upon. And all his work is done with such thoroughness and completeness that every part of it deserves the commendation passed upon his 'Conquest of Peru' by Mr. Markham, probably the first living authority on this subject (*Academy*, No. 95): "It deservedly stands in the first rank as a judicious history of the Conquest." One who runs his eye along the foot of the pages in this new edition of 'Ferdinand and Isabella' is especially struck with the very small amount of correction and illustration that it seems to have required. In a few cases one might desire some further comment, but in chapter after chapter the office of editor seems to have been almost a sinecure.

When we come to particulars, we are most impressed by a certain breadth and accuracy of view in regard to relations—relations between events, but more especially in international affairs. Of all the prominent American historians, he stands first in this respect; he seems most completely to realize his special series of events as only a part of the great current of the time. The selection of his first subject, that with which his name is most completely associated, was itself a striking proof of his possession of the historical sense. It seems unaccountable to us, as it did to Mr. Prescott himself, that it was left for him to recognize the historical importance of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, which is now seen clearly enough to have been one of the great turning-points of modern times. Less directly and strikingly associated with great events, perhaps, than the reign of their grandson, it was still the foundation of the great developments of the succeeding century. The expulsion of the Moors was the closing scene, within the immediate experience of Western Europe, of the great contest between Christendom and Islam—a fifteenth-century crusade; the discovery of America connects this period as markedly with the future as the conquest of Granada with the past. In the Spanish Inquisition was established the great engine which the next generation employed against heresy; in the union of the King of Aragon with the Queen of Castile we have the first, as in the marriage of their daughter to Philip the Fair we have the last, of the most important series of marriage alliances in modern history; from this union again was developed that mighty power which lorded it over Europe during the sixteenth century. These events were eminently well adapted to literary treatment by the diverse and intense interest they excite, the grandeur of their scale, and the dignity of those who took part in them, and were peculiarly fitted to bring out Mr. Prescott's best powers. He had a mind well trained in constitutional study, and his sketches of the institutions of Castile, Aragon, and the Netherlands—to say nothing of those of Mexico and Peru—are distinguished for their intelligibility and discrimination; his treatment of geographical relations is excellent, and for this period this is a point of great importance; he was a literary critic of a high order, and has attached to his several chapters a valuable bibliography of his principal authorities; his judgment of character seems always to be governed by the consideration that no man is all bad or all good, however preponderating his public influence may have been either for bad or good; he kept steadily at his first-chosen field, extending his labors from time to time only just so far as he could make it his own. On the other hand, his mind was not distinguished for philosophical analysis or subtlety of discrimination, and he was so far fortunate that, while his undertaking brought him into the range of the most vital and exciting of the intellectual controversies of all time, it was only with its objective side that he was directly concerned, and he was nowhere called upon to examine and analyze the controversies themselves, or the great movement of mind to which they belonged. Again, while his judgment was sound, impartial, and trustworthy, he had no special fondness or capacity for obscure problems and mysteries, and the periods treated by him presented few such topics, especially in the history of Ferdinand and Isabella, with which he commenced his labors.

From this review of Mr. Prescott's leading characteristics, both as a writer and as an historian, we seem warranted in the belief which we have expressed, that he is well worthy of his high reputation, and that his writ-

ings possess such substantial merits, joined with such excellence of execution, that they may well count upon a permanent rank in historical literature. In saying this we would not claim for him a place in the very front rank of historians. He is no Thucydides, or Gibbon, or Mommsen, or Ranke; but, giving all credit to the historians who have done honor to our literature since his day, it is not too much to say that he still stands at the head. Mr. Motley may seem to surpass him in a certain kind of vigor, and that author is fond of a labored and showy picturesqueness of narration, but in neither of these qualities, so far as they are merits, is Mr. Prescott really deficient, while he possesses a solidity of judgment, a catholicity of tone, and a breadth of view unequalled by his popular rival. A short passage from each will illustrate Mr. Prescott's calm, sustained style, as compared with Mr. Motley's impetuous delineations. Each is speaking of Charles V. after the revolt of Maurice, and this is Mr. Prescott's language: "Charles, ill in body and mind, and glad to escape from his enemies under cover of the night and a driving tempest, was at length compelled to sign the treaty of Passau, which secured to the Protestants those religious immunities against which he had contended through his whole reign" ('Philip II.' vol. i. p. 7). Mr. Motley indulges himself in the following outbreak: "While he was preparing to crush, for ever, the Protestant Church, with the arms which a bench of bishops were forging, lo! the rapid and desperate Maurice, with long, red beard streaming like a meteor in the wind, dashing through the mountain passes at the head of his lancers—arguments more convincing than all the dogmas of Granvelle" ('Dutch Republic,' vol. i. p. 127).

In the 'Conquest of Mexico' the editor has added a mass of notes of a very high order of excellence, which add considerably to the bulk of the work and not a little to its intrinsic value. In 'Ferdinand and Isabella' the additions are, as we have already remarked, comparatively few. This work has received repeated revisions by the author, and the editor has proceeded upon the correct plan of never altering the text, and of adding notes only where it has seemed quite necessary. The point to which one naturally turns at once, to see what editorial comments there may be, is as regards the insanity of Juana, upon which some doubt has been cast by the discoveries of Herr Bergenroth in the Simancas archives. Here we see that the editor's conclusion is that to which, if we are not mistaken, most scholars have come—that Bergenroth's views are not supported by the evidence. With this conclusion we may well be satisfied. Charles V. has enough stains on his memory—especially since Mr. Motley's scathing review of his character—without this new crime against his own mother.

This new edition is beautifully printed, and illustrated with the same portraits, fac-similes, etc., as the earlier editions; but the volumes are smaller—at once cheaper and easier to handle. It is to consist of fifteen monthly volumes, seven of which have already appeared.

THE CONDENSED BOSWELL.*

IN his brief preface to this volume, Mr. Lewes makes the remark that 'Boswell's Johnson' is a book less read nowadays than its admirers imagine; he has been surprised, he says, to find "how many cultivated men and women, who would assuredly be able to do it full justice, were satisfied with vague, second-hand knowledge of it, simply because they had allowed the idle trash of the hour to come between them and it—preferring to read what 'every one' is reading to-day, and no one will read to-morrow." For this state of affairs—or this alleged state of affairs—Mr. Lewes finds several reasons, but the chief one is that the book is too voluminous; not even the staunchest admirer of 'Boswell,' he thinks, can deny that it is three times too long. If Mr. Lewes's knowledge of the cultivated people of his acquaintance is not more exact than his apparent knowledge of the staunchest admirers of 'Boswell,' we shall feel emboldened to do what we did on first hearing of the razed 'Life,' and that is, doubt very much if it is true that the original 'Life' is so much neglected as Mr. Lewes has said, and if there is any real need of an abbreviation. "Staunch admirer" seems to us an odd designation for any one of Boswell's readers who would not be duly grateful if the work was half as large again—who, for example, would not declare it to be a satisfaction to know that when the reader has gone over his 'Boswell' proper he can still go on and take up the 'Tour to the Hebrides,' and make his reading a volume longer.

The argument may here be urged that readers would of course gladly consent that the work should run on to any extent, but that they would so consent with the mentally reserved right to skip everything except the recorded sayings of Johnson. It would, however, not be the real admirers of the work who would exercise any such right; for, beyond question, to

* 'Life and Conversations of Dr. Samuel Johnson, founded chiefly on Boswell. By Alexander Main. With a preface by G. H. Lewes.' London: Chapman & Hall. New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 1874.

the true readers of the 'Life,' it is not alone a biography of Dr. Johnson and a diary of his conversations, but it is also a charming picture of the time and of the town of that day, and, indeed, of the whole literary and social England of the period; and it is not a strict admirer, but only a hasty and gadding reader, who would willingly see lost so much as a line or a brush-mark of this picture. We must not forget, in our admiration of Johnson's sense and wit, and in our affection and respect for his character, how large a part of our pleasure in this great and delightful work is, after all, due to the fact that it does delineate so well the London of Johnson and Burke and Reynolds—delineates it so spiritedly and with such multiplicity of detail that the whole history of our literature cannot show a period which we know with anything like the familiarity with which (thanks largely to Boswell) we know the Johnsonian period. And we may add that the pleasure felt by this better class of Boswellians is not diminished by a quality of the book which Mr. Lewes puts down as effective in interfering with the pleasure of his "cultivated person." On the contrary, it is to the Boswellian an increase of his pleasure to see that the fashion of the literature of our age is not that of the Johnsonian age—that the fashion of the latter has for the most part passed away. We have no Phillis in William Morris's poetry; and

"Unhappy whom to beds of pain
Arthritic tyranny consigns."

is not the way in which Mr. Robert Buchanan would begin a stanza in an "Ode to Spring"; but to go back and observe this old-fashioned method in use in the hands of Dr. Johnson is surely a distinct pleasure to a well-trained reader. It is at all events to get out of the society of Mr. Buchanan and Gudrun, and to do that is of itself an advantage; and there are numerous other respects besides in which it is advantageous.

Our opinion is that 'Boswell' has many a thousand more of faithful admirers than Mr. Lewes's remarks would lead one to suppose. And from the steady publication of new editions, as well as from Mr. Lewes's own description of his "cultivated persons," we are persuaded that he has overrated both the character and the extent of the demand for an abbreviated 'Boswell.' The book holds its own too well to be set down as one which any really respectable body of readers neglect. But for all that, there is no doubt that an abbreviated 'Boswell' might be a very valuable book, and one which a large number of the lovers of the original would use and would like. Such an one the volume before us is not to be called, and we must regret that Mr. Lewes, in abandoning his own intention of preparing a shorter 'Boswell,' should have committed it to the hands of Mr. Alexander Main. What would have happened to that young Scottish gentleman could the subject of his biographical labors rise from the dead and read the 'Life and Conversations,' is a thing which, as we went through the volume, we alternately thought of with gratification and with humane pity. The plan of Mr. Main's performance is to include nearly every known oral discourse of Dr. Johnson's, much as Boswell has recorded them, and to connect these by a narrative of his own devising, in which he at the same time supplies us with the necessary biographical circumstances, and with what he conceives to be the necessary quantity of moral, religious, political, and other reflections. It is in his endeavor to accomplish the last-mentioned portion of his task that Mr. Main effects the ruin of his book and of the reader's good-nature, and becomes a very hard person indeed to bear with. We do not see that he has omitted anything of importance in his attempt to give us Johnson's wit and wisdom, nor that he has failed to give us all the facts of the doctor's life suitable either for a chronological view of it or for making Johnson's character intelligible. And to have done this is a good deal. But no 'Boswell,' abbreviated much or little, will stand the test of time which has on every page gems of sentiment and thought such as the following haphazard specimens, and expressed in such a manner: Michael Johnson, says Mr. Main, was commonly supposed (we do not know by whom) to have had but few soft places in his heart, yet a young woman fell so deeply in love with him that she changed her residence in order to be near him, and, when she pined and died, was believed to have really died for love of him. Upon this the author meditates to this effect, italics and all: "No man can call forth so much love as this without giving forth much that is lovable." On the day when Johnson receives the few pounds which he has every reason to believe is all that will ever come to him from his father's bankrupt estate, he makes a courageous entry in his diary. "Let me take care," he writes, "that the powers of my mind be not debilitated by poverty, and that indigence do not force me into any criminal act." Mr. Main adds, with a sort of little outcry, and with a sort of condescending manner, both of which he is fond of employing: "Take courage, brave, manly, honest heart; failure there can be none for such as you. A place is preparing for you in the great city, and you have been preparing for it by this long, stern discipline of sufferings nobly borne and sorrows told only to yourself—and One other." At Market-

Bosworth Johnson, dissatisfied with his sordid employer, "said the grace at the table, but with feelings which were very far from gracious." With puns of the size of the foregoing Mr. Main likes to enliven us. We do not know what is meant by the following deliverance in regard to the nineteenth century and Johnson's marriage with Mrs. Porter, who, doubtless, was not handsome: "Besides, we must not forget that Johnson knew nothing and thought nothing of that ideal beauty which puts us nineteenth-century lovers in such ecstasies; he was all his life long the sternest of realists." We should like to know, also, what Mr. Main takes the "consummation" of a marriage to be—riding on horseback from Derby to Birmingham in company with your spouse? One day Johnson writes to Cave a note, to which he subscribes himself "Sir, yours *impransus*." "Think of that," Mr. Main says, "'Yours, without a dinner, Sam. Johnson.' There is no peculiar merit, indeed, in being without a dinner; but to be dinnerless, and say nothing about it, or only to refer to it thus delicately at the end of a letter, *couching the mention of it in Latin, too*, that is worth noting." At another time Johnson asks Cave for money on account, and Mr. Main, after saying, "He has been 'without a dinner' before now, and he has not seen the end of his distresses even yet," goes on to make a gratuitous conjecture of the true Professor-Masson, Caledonian breed, to the effect that in case Cave does not send Johnson a guinea, he will on this occasion be "without a supper," as before he was without a dinner. We suggest that on a third occasion (as to which we ourselves will make conjecture) he may have missed still another meal, and, like a good Latinist, have been *impransus* at breakfast-time. "The biographies of the great are not always pleasant reading," continues Mr. Main; "the noblest man Scotland ever produced is left to die like a dog, and Samuel Johnson, the bravest heart and the manliest soul in the England of his time, is working hard, fighting hard, and has to beg a guinea notwithstanding it all." It is related of Johnson and Savage that on one of their homeless nights the two walked up and down in St. James's Square for several hours, cursing the prime minister, and resolving that they would stand by their country. The comedy of this was afterwards used by Goldsmith when he represented a prisoner talking through his jail grates to a common soldier (hardly less a bound slave than the other poor wretch), and assuring him that the liberties of England were in danger, and that the two patriots would never stand by and see them destroyed. We may be sure that it was some time after their promenading in the Square that the comic side of their patriotic resolution-making was visible to Johnson and Savage. Mr. Main supposes them to have been doing it all by way of pastime and mirth. "They were not always downcast." He then adds the story of the walking and talking politics, and wisely observes: "But there cannot have been much mirth in this wild excitement; and although it is good to know that there were such episodes in Johnson's life, it is far from pleasant to meditate upon them."

Remarks and reflections such as we have quoted—almost always trivial and inept and mistaken; extreme bad taste, exhibited in a pert, patronizing manner; these are the distinguishing marks of the more original part of the editor's work. The other parts are much better done. The reader who uses the book will not have 'Boswell,' but he will have many pages of Dr. Johnson's talk; and if this as he here gets it is accompanied by talk such as the sprightly and affable "A. K. H. B." favors you with when he button-holes you in his pleasant way, the bane is at least offered at the same time with the antidote.

Hampton and its Students. By Two of its Teachers—Mrs. M. F. Armstrong and Helen W. Ludlow. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)—The name of the historic Virginia town stands in the title of the above work for the Hampton Normal and Agriculture Institute, founded in 1868, and incorporated two years later. Various circumstances have conspired to make it one of the most noted schools in the country, but its peculiar features, its aims, needs, and resources, and its importance as a factor in the elevation of the blacks of the South and the reconciliation of the once dominant and subject races, are not generally appreciated and cannot be too widely made known. Mrs. Armstrong has admirably performed her share in the compilation of this work, which was to narrate the beginning and present condition of the Institute, and to urge its claims upon public—we might almost say upon national—support. She shows how it grew out of missionary work among the "contrabands" in the neighborhood of Fortress Monroe, and how in 1872 it had so won the approval of the people of Virginia that the State bestowed upon it one-third of the United States land-grant as an agricultural college. She describes the highly successful manual-labor system, which has been made "a sure source of revenue to the school, without in any degree lessening the ability of the students (both male and female) to receive intellectual culture," and which includes a farm, carpenter and blacksmith shops, shoe and paint shops, a printing-

office (the only one in Hampton); and, for the girls, an industrial department in which sewing, dress-making, laundry and general house-work are faithfully taught. She has, unfortunately, to tell of cramped accommodations, which compel from twenty-four to thirty of the young men to live out-of-doors in tents in all seasons, and of limited means, which cause many to be refused who seek to gain admittance to the school. She states that the students exhibit a native ability scarcely inferior to that of white children at the North, though they have difficulty in assimilating the new ideas presented to them and in expressing their own; "and at times it is fairly pitiful to watch their efforts to catch and crystallize into language a thought which they feel to be slipping from them back into the realms of mystery whence it came." Nine-tenths of those who graduate become teachers and find immediate employment—the demand indeed being far beyond the capacity of any one school to meet. They have, without exception, done honor to the training which they have received at Hampton.

If Mrs. Armstrong makes the reader ready to congratulate the school which enjoys her services as an instructor, the same must be said of Miss Ludlow, who furnishes the second part of the book—"Interior Views of the School and the Cabin." These consist of sketches of character among the colored townfolk, which are to be praised for the light and skilful touch of the writer, and of autobiographical compositions by the pupils of the Institute. They will all be found interesting and suggestive, with a due mingling of the droll and the pathetic. Part Third is a record of the career of the Hampton band of singers, who, following the example of the "Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University, went out to earn money for the building fund by giving concerts in the North. Fifty of their songs form an appropriate conclusion to the book, and invest it with a permanent value. These have been arranged by Mr. Thomas P. Fenner, the musical instructor at Hampton, who says rightly in his preface: "There are evidently, I think, two legitimate methods of treating this music: either to render it in its absolute, rude simplicity, or to develop it without destroying its original characteristics; the only proper field for such development being in the harmony." He has attempted both methods, but not very successfully in either case. We have not room for a critical analysis, but must content ourselves with suggesting a comparison, both for the air and the harmony, of Mr. Fenner's arrangement of "Swing low, sweet Chariot" (p. 179) with that of the same song by Mr. Theo. F. Seward (p. 29 of 'Jubilee Songs'). A certain number of the Hampton songs are readily identified with some to be found in the "Jubilee" collection and in the larger one which preceded both, the 'Slave Songs of the United States.' Between many others there are resemblances deserving of study, but on the whole the differences preponderate, and it may be said that our *Lyra Africo-Americana* now embraces from two hundred to two hundred and fifty distinct melodies. These are not likely to be greatly increased hereafter, unless in the single field of Creole plantation airs.

The Lost Beauties of the English Language: An Appeal to Authors, Poets, Clergymen, and Public Speakers. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. (New York: J. W. Bouton & Co. 1874.)—This 'Lost Beauties of the English Language' is a long list of words, each of which is accompanied by a definition framed or borrowed by Dr. Mackay, and on some of which he makes brief critical and illustrative remarks. It is not too much to say that many of those words are in no sense lost; that of such as are lost, but a small number are in any sense beauties or "utilities"; and that as for Dr. Mackay's remarks, they are not of much value. One specimen of these is that in which he accounts for the name of the chief of American bears by deriving it from the adjective "grisly," "terrible." The grizzled color of the animal's coat Dr. Mackay apparently forgets, or never knew. But anybody may make a mistake of this kind, though some kinds of writers are more careful not to do so than Dr. Mackay seems to be, and a fairer specimen of his method may be seen by looking at his observations on the word "to batten." All the dictionaries, says Dr. Mackay, make "batten" mean "to grow fat"; but "the word, as used in Shakspeare and Milton, does not seem susceptible of the common interpretation. It rather seems to signify 'to feed insufficiently'—applied to animals only, or to men and women derisively." He then quotes from Shakspeare Hamlet's caustic reproach to his mother for wedding Claudius:

"Have you eyes?
Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed
And batten on this moor?"

"That is," says Dr. Mackay, "she fed well on the rich pastures of the mountain, but starved—fed insufficiently, or 'battened'—upon the bare herbage of the moorland." Yet it appears to be plain enough that what Gertrude was here taunted with was her forsaking her proper food for a more appetizing and satisfying but less delicate fare. As for the Miltonian line:

"Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night,"

our editor observes that the dew "would be a diet which, without fresh grass as well as dew, would not add much to the plumpness of the sheep"—an observation no doubt correct. But it is not in evidence that the flocks of Lycidas and his friend were inhibited and enjoined from eating the grass at the same time that they licked the dew—whether at night or

"Under the opening eyelids of the morn"

—when first unfolded and driven out to crop the herbage. In fact, what we here again have expressed by "batten" is the underlying idea of toothsome, tempting, satisfying food—perhaps gross and coarse, perhaps not, but certainly attractive and fattening.

As regards this word, we may remark further that why Dr. Mackay calls it a "lost beauty," or "lost" at all, we do not see. Very few people would hesitate to use it to-morrow, whether in prose or in verse; and we suppose as few would have difficulty in getting at its meaning. So, too, of the following words. How can they be said to be lost out of the language?—*acold* ("the owl for all his feathers was *acold*," Keats); *afortime* (King James's Version); *aftermath*; *bale* (sorrow, harm); *barm* (yeast); *beck* (a brook, Jean Ingelow); *benison*; *besmirch*; *bide* (to abide, dwell); *bilk* (to defraud, cheat); *blare* ("with blare of bugle," Tennyson); *blear-eyed*; *blurt out* (as for example, a secret); *bole* (a tree-trunk, Tennyson); *bolt* (an arrow, a shaft); *bonny*; *bouse* (to revel and carouse); *bower* (a lady's chamber—"with music sweet as love, that overflows her bower," Shelley); *burn* (a brook); *cark* (as in "cark and care"); *carle*; *chaffer* (to bargain); *chares* or *chores* (as in charwoman); *chit* (a young slip of a child); *cleave* (to split) with *cleve*, *cleft*, *cloven*; *cleave* (to adhere to); *clout* (a patch, a rag, to mend); *clump* (to walk heavily—at least in the Northern United States); *coil* (a din, a confusion); *creel* (a basket; especially for fish); *cog* (shy, quiet); *cosey* (snug, warm); *craft* (a trade, art, business); *crank* (a twist, a turn); *croon* (to hum over a tune); *dabster* (a proficient—somewhat contemptuously). Here are forty words in as many small pages, and there is none of them that can really be said to be lost.

Within the same space we find among words which really are lost the following list, and the question is whether, being lost, any beauty or any use has disappeared in their disappearance—whether they have been so much lost as abandoned and cast away: *abear* (to tolerate or endure—as to which Dr. Mackay says that we ought to have it back again, because if we say that we "cannot bear a man," everybody knows that we cannot endure him, whereas if we say that we "cannot bear a man" our hearers may think we mean that we "cannot carry him"); *agg* (to irritate, to "nag"); *alderbest* (best, best of all); *Alder Father* ("Father of all, in every age," etc.—Pope) *alder truest* (truest of all); *amiddleward* (in the middle of, in the midst); *anan* (an interrogative addressed by an inferior to a superior, and meaning "I beg your pardon, I did not hear what you said"—which long periphrasis would be saved if we all took to saying *anan*); *arl* (an arl or erl-penny, a deposit to bind a bargain); *athattens* (in that manner); *barrel fever* (headache from beer-drinking); *barth* (cattle shelter); *bauch* (insipid); *beet* (to help); *belive* (by-and-by); *bir* (force); *birler* (a butler); *blashy* (thin, poor, weak); *blaver* (the blue cornflower); *blin* (to stop); *bleb* (a drop of water, a blob); *braird* (the first sprouting of corn); *brathly* (fiercely); *brinch* (to drink in answer to a pledge); *bub* (liquor that froths and bubbles); *chancely* (by chance); *chidester* (a scolding woman—"whence perhaps the American word *shyster*"!); *clamber-scul* (drink that goes to the head); *clevel* (a grain of corn); *clythe* (the herb burdock); *dawks* (a woman who wears fine clothes but puts them on in a slovenly way); *daver* (to droop); and so forth, and so forth.

As we suspect, Dr. Mackay's familiarity with Scottish poetry of the popular and folk-lore variety has warped his judgment in regard to the intrinsic value of many of his treasures, and has had the effect of strangely blinding his eyes to the riches and resources of the language of which the Scottish must even in the eyes of a Scotchman seem to be a subordinate, dialectic, and vanishing form. How else should he set down as beauties or utilities that are "lost" such words as *stalwart* (p. 206), *stark* (p. 206), *stickle* (p. 209), *stowaway* (p. 212)? And how else could he at the same time set down as lost "beauties" words like *squintard*, "one who squints" (p. 205); *snite*, "a nose" (p. 196); *storp*, "to eat greedily with a guttural noise" (p. 192)? The former words are in the language as everywhere spoken; the latter are hopelessly and justly excluded. On the whole, Dr. Mackay's book, like many another of its general class, gives hope of interest at first, but it does not rise above the level of cheap philology dressed up into magazine articles.

Essays in Military Biography. By Charles Cornwallis Chesney, Colonel in the British Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Engineers. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1874.)—The first four essays now republished in the work before us relate to our civil war, and are of peculiar interest on this

side of the Atlantic because they come from the hand of a very able military writer, who, living across the water, has been tempted to turn aside from the well-gleaned fields of European strife to apply his talents to the study of the struggle of which we saw the end just nine years ago. In one of the other essays presented in this volume, the author, contrasting the differences between military criticisms of writers who are governed by personal bias, says:

"A third school of critics has of late arisen who pursue a simpler and more truthful method, the only one worthy a sound critic of military history. This is to lay aside, as far as may be, all prepossession for or against the man, and look only at what the general did. Take nothing for granted in what, after all, are mere matters of evidence and fact. Accept no one-sided statement from any national historian who rejects what is distasteful in his authorities, and uses only what suits his own theory. Believe not that any man ever lived who, in so dark and uncertain a science as war, had the gift of infallibility. Gather carefully from actual witnesses, high and low, such original material as they offer for the construction of the narrative."

It is thus that Col. Chesney himself has proceeded in his well-known 'Waterloo Lectures,' wherein he has not hesitated, in the face of his English audience, to detract somewhat from Wellington's common fame, not by assailing him, as Lord Byron did, in a poetical, political frenzy, but by such frank criticism as the facts warranted of his generalship in the Waterloo campaign; by ascribing to Blücher and his troops more credit than the English, as a rule, were willing to award; and by insisting on the truth that Napoleon's conduct and orders before Waterloo were not in keeping with his earlier renown. It is especially gratifying that an English military writer of acknowledged merit, and of so candid and sincere a mind, should feel himself called upon to do something to counteract the depreciation and misunderstanding which, as he intimates in his preface, prevail in England regarding men and facts pertaining to the history of our civil war. In his first two essays he sets in clear relief the military merits of both Grant and Lee, tracing with a soldierly appreciation the course of their arduous campaigns, and touching lightly, but with a master-hand, on some faulty traits in the commanders and errors which mar their campaigns as military examples. He praises the Northern commander, without stint, but, treating of the Wilderness campaign, and having in mind the fruitless assault at Cold Harbor which terminated the struggle on that dark and bloody ground, he pauses to utter this criticism: "Doubtless Grant is deficient in that sublime quality of genius which instinctively knows the impossible, and recoils from it alone." He has hardly less to say in praise of Lee than the most ardent Southerner would lay claim to, but he has some wise reflections on the weaknesses of Lee's character, and on his failure in the aggressive movements which he counselled or undertook; and he justly observes that Lee wasted his cavalry in brilliant but unserviceable raids, "so that in his last campaign he was left almost destitute of that most necessary arm."

No one can find fault with the spirit of the author's sketches. He ascribes high mental qualities to our chief generals on both sides; declares that the courage and devotion of all the troops was almost without a parallel, and that decisive victories were impossible where neither side, no matter how severe the check, would break up and run away. He appreciates the enormous difficulties of our military undertakings, and, writing without the prejudice or favor of partisanship, presents a picture which, in a military point of view, is such as any of the great nations that groan under colossal standing armies might be proud to call its own. The result of the war decided that the country should not be sectional; therefore, we are bound to accept the military fame of the war as national. For leaders we took such as were vouchsafed to us, and, after a few false starts, some of these on both sides won the world's applause; our adaptability as soldiers very soon took the place of experience and traditions in the field; and as for the courage of our troops we may readily accept Colonel Chesney's suggestion that this was "an inherited quality."

In a brief review of the organization of our Navy from small beginnings, and its record throughout the war, the author is warm in his praise of Mr. Fox's administration of the Navy Department, and of the chief officers afloat. He finds in Ulric Dahlgren's raid to Richmond for the liberation of the prisoners a fine instance of the daring spirit which, as he says, it is common in England to ascribe only to the Southern side in the contest; and if this allusion to Dahlgren's unfortunate adventure can be so understood, it is certainly the only evidence to be found in these 'Essays' of a partial sympathy with either North or South in the great struggle.

We have left ourselves no room to speak at length of the very interesting chapters which Col. Chesney devotes to the administration of Lord Cornwallis in India; to the memoirs of De Fezensac and Von Brandt, soldiers of the time of the First Empire; and to the career of the Gordons—two English officers of distinction in our own time in the Crimea and in China. In all these 'Essays' there is apparent the same love of historical truth for its own

sake, the same critical treatment of military matters, and the same honor of high capacity, courage, and character.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Medical Department of the United States Army, from 1775 to 1873. Compiled under the direction of the Surgeon-General. By Harvey E. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, United States Army. 1 vol. 8vo. Washington, D.C., 1873.

Dr. Brown's book is a history of the medical service of the United States Army under the twelve surgeons-general who have successively administered it. The most interesting part of the book is that which describes the development of the medical service during the Revolutionary War. At the beginning of the struggle, the soldiers chose their own officers, and these officers had the nomination of surgeons; in consequence, "personal popularity was sought for rather than professional fitness." In 1775, the Colonial Congress appointed Doctor Benjamin Church first "Director of the Hospital," with power to appoint four surgeons. He failed, however, to improve the condition of the medical department, and was dismissed within the year for treasonable conduct. Dr. John Morgan succeeded him. He was a man of high ability and moral worth, but he fell a victim, as a staff-officer, to the jealousy of regimental surgeons, who procured his dismissal after he had held office for two years. In 1779, two years after his dismissal, Dr. Morgan prepared a memorial in his own defence. It was heard by a Congressional committee, and that body exonerated him from all blame; it was resolved "that Congress are satisfied with the conduct of John Morgan while acting as Director-General and Physician-in-Chief in the general hospitals in the United States." But Congress did not restore him to the position of which he had been unjustly deprived, or make him any other compensation than this verbal one. Dr. Morgan died, "broken in spirit," in 1789. Benjamin Rush quotes a saying of him, "that if it were possible for any man to merit heaven by his good works, Dr. Morgan would deserve it." The failures of his medical administration were the result of causes beyond his control, mainly of trying to accomplish more, both in organization and in details, than the service was yet ready for.

Meanwhile, the administration of the surgical and medical department became more and more efficient under the stimulus of the war. During Dr. William Shippen's administration (1777-1781), a plan, "on the most liberal principles," according to Gen. Whipple, was formed, "with a design to draw, if possible, into the service of their country gentlemen of the first eminence from different parts of the Continent." Want of funds, however, was an abiding drawback upon the plans of the department. At the close of the Revolutionary War, the troops being discharged, "except 25 privates to guard the stores at Fort Pitt, and 55 to guard the stores at West Point and other magazines," the medical department was practically disbanded. In 1783, it retained an existence only in the persons of a few garrison surgeons and their mates.

When the war of 1812 came on, the experience of the Revolution had been in large part forgotten. The surgeons had left no records of their experience. "The management of military hospitals, the police and hygiene of camps, the diseases peculiar to troops, and the surgical conduct of a campaign, were topics of which the profession and the country were entirely ignorant." Dr. James Tilton, however, the Surgeon-General from 1812 to 1815, had become eminent as a hospital surgeon during the Revolution, and he was the first superintendent of the department who did not separate medical officers into physicians and surgeons, but considered them one or the other as circumstances required. To him its reorganization was in large part entrusted. "As late as one hundred years ago," says Dr. Brown, "the professions of surgery and medicine were still essentially distinct. . . . Surgery had comparatively recently been elevated from being one of the acquirements of an accomplished barber to the dignity of a science." The administration of Dr. Tilton was painstaking and efficient. The indefinite character of the staff-officer's military position was already becoming a subject of solicitude to the medical officers of the army. We should have liked to see a fuller discussion of this question, which has become the source of some acrimonious feeling in both the military and naval service, particularly in the latter.

In 1839, the then Surgeon-General, Dr. Lawson, wrote thus to Major Cooper upon the vexed question of staff uniform: "I have commanded a battalion and a regiment of men in the volunteer service. . . . My military career has certainly not been discreditable to myself or altogether unprofitable to the Government. If under these circumstances the commanding general of the army could feel himself justified in putting me off with an aiguillette, a piece of tinsel on one shoulder, while he decorates every brevet or second-lieutenant with an epaulette on each shoulder, and the staff lieutenant with an aiguillette besides, I must be satisfied to remain without a military dress. . . . If I am never to wear an epaulette until I ask for it, my shoulders

will never be decorated with that badge." The old controversy between officers of the "line" and the "staff" may be traced at least as far back as 1780. In that year, "Congress had provided that all officers who served to the close of the war should be entitled to half-pay for life. By some oversight, this provision extended only to officers of the line." Remonstrance being made, Congress voted the half-pay of a captain to surgeons who had served during the war. The various questions of assimilated rank, we may add, are still hardly settled in either branch of the service. Dr. Brown tells us that in June, 1873, there were five vacancies in the grade of army surgeon and fifty-five in that of assistant surgeon. This reduction in the working-force of the department, which he calls "disastrous to the best interests of the medical staff and of the service at large," is partly due to this difference between the officers of the line and of the staff.

The medical force was again reduced to small numbers after the war of 1812-15. In 1832 occurred the "Black Hawk" war, the "cholera campaign," as it was called, from its chief feature of medical interest; and the surgical department was busy during the Indian troubles in Florida, commencing in 1835. From that time to 1861 the medical record of the army contains little that is interesting. For the medical history of our civil war the reader will not look to Dr. Brown's book. The important work upon this subject prepared under the supervision of the present Surgeon-General, and already noticed in this journal, remains the chief compendium for the student of its military surgery. Dr. Brown tells us that the Army Medical Museum, permanently located in the old Ford's-Theatre building in Washington, contained 1st July, 1872, 6,093 preparations; and that the Medical Library, in the same building, has 25,000 volumes and 13,000 pamphlets. The department had furnished about 9,000 artificial limbs to soldiers up to

the 30th April, 1873. The expenditures on behalf of the Medical Department, exclusive of salaries of commissioned officers, during the war (1861 to 1866) were \$47,351,982 24. An outline of the legislation for the department during the same time and since is given.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Duyckinck (E. A. and G. L.), Cyclopædia of American Literature, Parts 4, 5, 6, swd. (T. Eliwood Zell) \$0 50	
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THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NEW YORK, April 14, 1874.

COMPLAINTS are frequent and loud, among the mercantile classes, of light business and still lighter profits. The spring season has half passed with a very unsatisfactory trade; merchants look doleful, and, for the most part, have resigned themselves to the idea that their profits will be small in any event, and many of them will suffer positive loss in the half-year's business. It is popular just now to attribute this unwonted dulness wholly to the inaction of Congress on the finances; but of course it is unreasonable to suppose that Congress can have, or ought to have, such power over the currents of trade. There are evidences abundant that the trading classes in their eager competition had heretofore pushed too many goods into market for the earning-power of the people to pay for. As a consequence, we have largely diminished sales, and fiercer competition for the remaining custom. The weaker houses, which were hatched by the stimulation of rapid money movements, will have to go to the wall. Broadway stores are "to let" in great numbers at lower prices; on the cross and side streets the same rule prevails; rents from real estate will be less this year, though the tax-levees on it will be greater. We are undergoing the reaction; there is a curtailment of our expenditures for articles not strictly necessities. The export trade and also the domestic trade in staple products are more satisfactory.

Money has been in somewhat more demand, and the movement of the great banks shows an increasing aggregate of loans and discounts. It is expected that we shall have an easy money market till August. There is however, a disposition to examine afresh the line of excess over the 25 per cent. reserve required by the bank law. Call loans have been made as low as 3 per cent. and discounts of mercantile paper at from 6 to 7 per cent.

The following are the bank averages for the past week compared with the preceding week:

	April 4.	April 11.	Differences.
Loans.....	\$291,113,700	\$293,666,300	Inc... \$2,552,600
Specie.....	24,045,600	23,835,400	Dec... 210,200
Legal Tenders.....	56,983,100	55,573,800	Dec... 1,409,300
Deposits.....	237,491,400	238,691,700	Inc... 1,200,300
Circulation.....	26,804,600	26,797,800	Dec... 6,800

The following shows the relation between the total reserve and the total liabilities:

	April 4.	April 11.	Differences.
Specie.....	\$24,045,600	\$23,835,400	Dec... \$210,200
Legal Tenders.....	56,983,100	55,573,800	Dec... 1,409,300
Total re-serve.....	\$81,028,700	\$79,409,200	Dec... \$1,619,500
Circulation.....	26,804,600	26,797,800	Dec... 6,800
Deposits.....	237,491,400	238,691,700	Inc... 1,200,300
Total liabilities.....	\$264,296,000	\$265,489,500	Inc... \$1,193,500
25 per cent reserve.....	66,074,000	66,372,375	Dec... 298,375
Excess over 25 per cent. reserve.....	14,954,700	13,036,825	Dec... 1,917,875

Gold has been firm, fluctuating slightly between 113 and 114 during the week, touching 114½ on Tuesday, and closing at 114. But little is going abroad in the shape of coin. Silver bullion continues to be one of our most constant exportable products. Foreign exchange continues remarkably steady at about former rates—4.85 to 4.88.

Government bonds have been steady at former rates. Among other causes, the action of many of the Western State legislatures, assuming the right to regulate the rates of fare and freight on railroads, aimed as it is against

the creditors and stockholders of the roads, who reside mainly at the East, together with the unhappy experiences among the newer railroad loans, is having the natural effect of turning the attention of capitalists to United States bonds. All this more timid class of investors are now buying Government bonds, or lending on mortgage of real estate. The following are the latest current bid and asking rates:

Currency, U. S. 6's.....	117 @	U. S. 5-20, 1865, c. new.....	119½ @ 119½
U. S. 6's 1881 r.....	119½ @ 120	U. S. 5-20, 1867, r.....	119½ @ 120
U. S. 6's 1881, c.....	121½ @ 122	U. S. 5-20, 1867, c.....	120½ @ 120½
U. S. 5-20, 1862, r.....	114½ @	U. S. 5-20, 1868, r.....	119½ @ 120
U. S. 5-20, 1863, c.....	118½ @ 118½	U. S. 5-20, 1868, c.....	120½ @ 120½
U. S. 5-20, 1864, r.....	116½ @	U. S. 10-40, r.....	114½ @ 115
U. S. 5-20, 1864, c.....	120½ @ 120½	U. S. 10-40, c.....	115 @ 115½
U. S. 5-20, 1865, r.....	116½ @	U. S. 5's of 1881, r.....	116½ @ 116½
U. S. 5-20, 1865, c.....	121½ @ 121½	U. S. 5's of 1881, c.....	116½ @ 116½
U. S. 5-20, 1865, r. new.....	119 @ 119½		

Bank, insurance, gas, street-railway, coal-mining, and miscellaneous stocks make their appearance in market from time to time, and prices indicating the expectation of returns from the capital are generally realized. State, city, county, and municipal stocks and bonds are less active. The savings-banks and trust companies are the principal takers of these loans. New York and Brooklyn securities excepted, there is less disposition manifest to invest in city bonds. Southern State bonds are completely demoralized under the pending talk of repudiation and poverty.

Railroad bonds are not offered so freely as of late, the better classes being removed out of market as soon as offered, at fair rates. It has been a bad year with the railroads thus far. Some of the trunk lines, ordinarily prosperous, will be compelled to eke out their interest engagements by borrowing. The railroad interest, as a whole, however, is believed to be in a hopeful and sound condition. The Southern and Western lines are enabled to purchase their machinery and supplies at lower rates; and there is reason to suppose that they will gradually resume the payment of interest and dividends.

Railroad stocks have not been specially active. The interest of the Street still centres in Lake Shore, Western Union, and Union Pacific. In the Philadelphia market there is considerable Pennsylvania Co. stock changing hands. The very latest phase of the stock market indicates weakness in prices, which the passage of the Free Banking bill in the House has not had time to efface.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending Saturday, April 11, 1874:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R. x	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	99½ 99½	99½ 99½	99 99	98½ 98½	70,600
Lake Shore.....	78½ 79½	77½ 78½	77½ 78½	77½ 78½	77½ 78	74½ 74½	154,100
Eric.....	39½ 40½	38½ 39½	37½ 38½	35½ 36½	35 36	34½ 35½	70,500
Union Pacific.....	37½ 38½	37 38	36½ 37½	35½ 36½	35½ 36½	35½ 36½	25,400
Chl. & N. W.....	54½ 55	54 55	54 55	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	38,400
Do. p'd.....	71½ 72½	70½ 71½	71½ 71½	70½ 71½	70½ 71½	69½ 70½	5,700
N. J. Central.....	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	800
Rock Island.....	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	106½ 107	23,400
Mil. & St. Paul.....	43 43½	42½ 43½	41½ 42½	41½ 42½	41½ 42	41 41½	35,400
Do. p'd.....	61 61½	61 61½	61 61½	61 61½	61 61½	61 61½	1,000
Wabash.....	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45½ 46½	45,300
D. L. & W.....	104½ 105	103 104	102½ 103	102½ 103	102½ 103	102½ 103	5,000
O. & M.....	30½ 31	29½ 30	29½ 30	29½ 30	29½ 30	29½ 30	14,800
C. C. & I. C.....	32½ 33	32 33	32 33	31½ 32½	31½ 32½	31½ 32	16,900
W. U. Tel.....	79 79½	77½ 78½	77½ 78½	77½ 78½	77½ 78½	76½ 77	153,600
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